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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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**Party Discusses Enterprise Assistance to Agriculture**

18300453a Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 2, Feb 89 pp 15-19

[Unsigned article, published under the heading "Intensive Development for the Agroindustrial Complex": "Sponsorship Ties: The Search for Solutions"]

[Text] As is known, the CPSU pays enormous attention to the development of the economy's agroindustrial sector. There was a thorough discussion of the tasks in this sphere at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and at the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It was emphasized that in the countryside new production relations are being established and there is a search for the most rational ways of management. Here probably more than ever before help must come from the city. It must be pointed out that modern, highly organized and intensive agriculture is completely impossible without support from industry.

At present, the industrial enterprises, the construction and transport organizations are carrying out a large amount of orders from the farmers and they are taking an active part in the tending of the crops, in the harvesting and transporting of the crop and in other jobs. However, in recent years shadowy aspects and contradictions have also made themselves felt in the development of sponsorship. The appearance of some is due to objective processes since life does not stand still while others are the result of subjective errors and omissions.

Many know the following picture: in a vegetable field you cannot make your way through the people. Hundreds, thousands of city dwellers upon the appeal and more often under the pressure of the party and soviet bodies, having abandoned production and household concerns, have come here to help harvest tomatoes or cucumbers. One can only be amazed that with such a flood of people the crop is not trampled into the ground.

This flood has also arisen as a result of poorly conceived planning. Last year, the Alma-Ata Party Gorkom, for example, even in May requested from the primary party organizations at the industrial enterprises plans for participating in the future harvesting. The sovkhozes and kolkhozes of the capital oblast had not even completed their planting and themselves did not know how many additional workhands they would need, while the gorkom and the gorispolkom had already sent up the alarm. The other extreme was observed in 1988 in Semipalatinsk. Here, only at the very end of June, when the crop was rotting in the field, did the gorispolkom respond to the request of the vegetable growers in Zhanasemeyskiy Rayon to help in harvesting the gifts of the earth and call on the labor collectives in the city

enterprises to help. But most often the picture is as described by G. Zolotykh who is responsible for sponsorship harvesting at the servomechanism plant in the city of Petropavlovsk:

"The confusion and senseless zeal with an obvious indifference to the matter begin from the very moment of concluding a contract (the nature of which will be taken up below.—Editors) for sponsorship aid between the city enterprise and the sovkhoz. Long before harvesting, at the very start of the year, the phone rings at the plant from the rayispolkom demanding an immediate to the kolkhoz for concluding a contract on collaboration and for sending out people to repair the equipment. The question arises: Who needs whom more? Why is the city enterprise from the very start of the process put in a dependent position? The sovkhoz leaders at this time keep mum. They still have not determined how much additional equipment and manpower they will need for the harvest period or at what time it will be required."

Such a practice is faulty in many regards. First of all, it does harm to the enterprises themselves.

"We have estimated," said the First Secretary of the Nikolskiy Party Gorkom in Dzhezkazgan Oblast, V.N. Malyshev, "that merely in terms of the wage fund, the enterprises which provided sponsorship aid suffer losses of 150,000 rubles. In converting to cost accounting these outlays will be very greatly felt!"

But the farms also do not benefit from this. And this is no paradox. To send masses of people for farm work is not sponsorship but rather the reallocation of labor resources. Undoubtedly under the conditions which exist in some places they have still not found more acceptable forms of support for the weak farms, but such support must not be turned into a burdensome obligation. This, like poorly planned subsidies, merely harms the people and gives rise to parasitism and irresponsibility. One could give numerous examples of this.

The Zarechnyy Sovkhoz in Tselinograd Oblast specializes in raising potatoes and vegetables. Because these crops are very labor intensive, the farm has begun designing and employing a system of machines, particularly in harvesting. They have been able to shorten the harvesting time, labor productivity of the vegetable raisers has increased, while product costs have declined. And most importantly there is no longer any need to call in urban dwellers. Seemingly, everyone would be happy with such a situation. But the chief of the section for procurement, storage and processing of products in the Tselinograd Agroindustrial Committee, G.V. Dorofeyev, has prohibited the use of combines. And they began to call in the urban helpers to the fields. The director of the Zarechnyy Sovkhoz, Ye.I. Shishov, related this almost unbelievable story at a plenum of the Tselinogradskiy Party Raykom held in January last year. And although subsequently the equipment was returned to the field, this example is indicative in many regards.

In contrast to the former, a different case is most characteristic. During the autumn days very many people are assembled not only for the vegetable fields but also for the cotton fields in Chimkent Oblast. The year before last the party obkom and raykoms promised the residents at least not to involve school children in harvesting the cotton. However, the promise was broken that very autumn.

It is worth taking a look to see what the benefit is from such an involvement of people, if there is any benefit at all. The following figures are eloquent. In a day every student harvests an average of 30-35 kg of raw cotton, the workers of city enterprises harvest around 20 kg and as an average for each urban resident there is not more than 30 kg. During that same autumn, a large collective of cotton pickers from the PMK-302 [mobile mechanized column] from the Dzhetyysayselstroy [Dzhetysay Rural Construction] Trust in almost a month of harvesting brought in a total of...600 kg of cotton. For school children, it must be realized, output is even less, if a professional cotton picker harvests by hand 50-60 kg of raw cotton a day.

At the same time, the cotton-raising farms are not badly equipped with special equipment. The urgent task of the day is to learn how to operate the equipment correctly, and organize a mechanized conveyor system in each sovkhoz and kolkhoz. Here is a point of reflection for the primary party organizations, the party raykoms, the soviet and economic bodies. As is known, a cotton-harvesting machine can pick up to 4 tons of raw cotton in a shift. However, in an absolute majority of instances, output does not exceed 2 tons. This is caused by the poor professional training of the equipment operators. This is what must be constantly increased. But on the spot they are not greatly concerned with this. Even worse, the farmers do not employ highly-productive equipment. During the peak harvesting of the year before last, the cotton raisers of the Krasnyy Avangard Division of the Sovkhoz imeni Sverdlov in Pakhtarskiy Rayon did not even take the modern pneumatic collectors for the cotton-harvesting machines from the warehouse. Why should they if the raykom and rayispolkom can mobilize all the population of the rayon center for the harvesting and do not have to pay virtually anything for this manpower? On the other hand, for the primary party organization of the sovkhoz, for the raykom and rayispolkom, the situation is beneficial as it can be said with confidence that everything possible has been done to save the crop. For this reason, obviously, last autumn there was no major change in mechanizing the harvesting work.

The desire to collect as many people as possible on the fields, particularly if the situation develops unfavorably, can be observed virtually in all the republic's rayons. For example, the summer last year was capricious. Drought baked enormous territories. There was the threat that in the winter livestock raising would be without feed. The

oblast party committees such as Karaganda, North Kazakhstan and certain others, turned to all the inhabitants of their territories with an appeal to help the farmers in the "green battle." Certainly this was correct. Livestock products are needed by everyone. But this time the "mass campaigns" in many instances covered organizational and political-indoctrinational problems on the spot. Just how, for instance, does the Yermentauskiy Rayon Special Farm Association in Tselinograd Oblast differ from the hundreds of other sovkhozes and kolkhozes? It is located in the same steppe zone and does not have a surplus of manpower resources. But the party organization, the rural soviet and the administration of the farm were able to organize the collective and over a month the plan for seed production was fulfilled using their own forces. Similar farms exist in other oblasts but this experience is not being studied and not being introduced.

At times, the need for sponsorship aid arises out of confusion and routine in planning. The Severnyy Sovkhoz in Pavlodar Oblast is an economically strong farm. Using its own forces, it harvested grains not only in 1988 but also in the previous more bounteous year. The transporting of the grain from the field to the threshing floor and from the threshing floor to the elevator was carried out by their own motor transport using tractors with carts. In a word, they acted as is required with the rational management of the farm. But they ended up the loser as after the harvesting all the equipment was frozen due to the overexpenditure of fuel and lubricants. They had to request help in transporting livestock to the slaughterhouse, for delivering coal, building materials and so forth.

Of course, such hitches are largely accidental. But they do impose the stain of confusion, hurry and unnecessary compulsion on the sponsorship system. In actuality the forces of the industrial enterprises of a city in some places are used not for carrying out long-range tasks or certain major problems in the countryside but rather for eliminating failings or, as is said in the countryside, for plugging holes.

"We have given up such an approach to sponsorship aid," related the First Secretary of the Shemonaikhinskiy Party Raykom of East Kazakhstan Oblast, S.A. Kuznetsov.

"Of course, it is essential to aid the countryside, for instance, in harvesting. This is still indispensable. But we resolve not merely to provide people for the kolkhozes and sovkhozes but rather acquire combines for the industrial enterprises. Now they have over 40 machines and we plan to bring the number up to 100. Special teams initially bringing the crop on the subsidiary farms of the industrial enterprises and then in the fields of the neighbors."

Similar teams and detachments are found in Alma-Ata, Kustanay and certain other oblasts. Seemingly an effective and noteworthy form for organizing the sponsorship system has been found. But it is not becoming widespread. As before, motley groups of city dwellers arrive at the sovkhozes and kolkhozes on the very eve of harvesting. For many of them this is the first time they have seen combines. And it happens very frequently that the countryside is simply unprepared to receive the help. The equipment stands in the equipment yards and not a hand has touched it since the previous harvest season.

"Could some thought not be given to this during the winter months?" asks the Pavlodar resident A. Zakharov. "The plants could find the ball bearings, packings and other spare parts so essential for the rural equipment operator! They could also be specially manufactured, if the requirement were known. In the countryside there is also much to be done by the urban innovators. Innovators, for instance, could help in eliminating manual labor on the farms, they could ascertain other acute needs and work out their solution."

A correct posing of the question. The help of the specialists would be of a higher urban skill level and this would be a contribution of permanent effect. There is an acute need for this in the countryside. The intensification of agricultural production is not achieved by unskilled laborers. They endeavor to consider this in organizing sponsorship aid, for example, in the Karaganda Party Obkom. The former obkom secretary, A. Romanov, stated on the pages of the oblast newspaper INDUSTRIALNAYA KARAGANDA: "In the near future, the building industry will begin delivering new light structural elements for putting up livestock farms and sheep pens using the forces of the sovkhоз construction brigades. Here we must maintain the existing sponsorship ties between the cities and the rayons, but these should now be based on a mutually advantageous contractual basis, and these efforts must be focused primarily at building hay and root-crop storage facilities, capacity for haylage and silage simple feed lots for sheep raising, the fencing of farms, the construction and repair of the labor and rest camps, as well as manufacturing unstandard equipment and full mechanization of manual labor in the food, processing industry and at the fruit and vegetable bases."

As we can see, the key areas of sponsorship work have been set out. The obligation of building on a contractual basis has been emphasized. And this is not the collaboration contract which was described by G. Zolotykh from Petropavlovsk. According to the previously existing practice, those receiving the help bore no responsibility to the sponsors. This created parasitic attitudes among the former and dampened the ardor of the latter. Under present-day conditions the contract should have legal force and material guarantees. In other words, it should be self-financing.

This is precisely how the Sovkhoz imeni Chkalov in Krasnokutskiy Rayon of Pavlodar Oblast and the Pavlodarpromstroy [Pavlodar Industrial Construction] Trust have organized their relations. What is the essence of these? In addition to a powerful production base, the trust has subsidiary agriculture and for the needs of this the oblispolkom has allocated 1,400 hectares of low-productive land on the sovkhоз's territory. It was not a particular effort for the trust to build the necessary barns for the livestock and housing for the workers. But they could not solve the feed problem and for this reason the idea of cooperating with the sovkhоз arose. The trust assumed the obligation of building on the farm those projects which were designated by the plan for socioeconomic development. And the sovkhоз on its farms fattened the livestock for the city dwellers to the condition stipulated in the contract. It also operated an irrigated plot of 515 hectares built by the trust and on which feed was raised. Cooperation was beneficial to both partners.

The labor collectives of the Aktyubrentgen [Aktyubinsk X-ray] Production Association and the Severnyy Sovkhoz in Komsomolskiy Rayon of Aktyubinsk Oblast have organized their relations somewhat differently. For example, 186,000 rubles were spent for sponsorship aid in the 1987 harvesting. The amount is large and how can it be recovered?

"We proposed to the farmers that a percentage of the crop be deducted for us," related the general director of the association, I.P. Shkurenko. "Let us assume, 5 percent from the crop harvested by us. This would cover our expenditures on the subsidiary farm. The farmers made their own proposals of providing land. The sovkhоз would provide 4,000 hectares and the farmers would plow and sow this area and we would harvest it."

We feel that there are broad prospects for such cooperation. For instance, design forces are concentrated in the cities. Under the conditions of the radical economic reform, the plants are fully capable of preparing such machines and units for the countryside for which there is the greatest need as well as the various spare parts for the equipment and so forth. Here individual orders can also be executed. In turn the rural workers meet the requests of the urban dwellers. For example, at present the construction organizations of Uralsk during the "interseason" period help with manpower. The main thing is that such relationships are appropriately formalized and strictly observed.

However, the cost accounting form of ties as yet is in a rudimentary form. The motor vehicle operators, for example, complain of its absence. Each year, tens of thousands of trucks from public transport are used in hauling the crop. Here in a majority of instances the need of one or another rayon for transport is determined, unfortunately, "by rule of thumb." The sovkhozes and rayons most often do not know how many vehicles they will require, of what capacity and at what time, and for

this reason submit their orders a week or two before the work and then request more. The primary party organizations and the party raykoms do not sufficiently mobilize the collectives to struggle for economic shipments and there are no cost accounting levers to control this process. As a result, the national economy as a whole suffers tangible losses for which no one is specifically responsible.

Of course, in such a matter as sponsorship ties it is impossible to rely solely on the "effectiveness of the ruble." In the labor collectives it is essential to instill an awareness that participation in the process of agricultural production is beneficial to all society. In this context it is essential to maintain on the proper level the organizational and mass political work of the primary party organizations of both the industrial and agricultural enterprises. The closer the collaboration the better the result. Unfortunately, not everyone adheres to this principle.

For instance, the spring before last the Sovkhoz imeni Kurmanov in Aktyubinsk Oblast decided to build a new shearing station. They asked that the sponsors design and install a simple conveyor for delivering the wool. Seemingly for such a large enterprise as Aktyubinsk Agricultural Machine Building, the problem would not be a difficult one. However, representatives from the sovkhoz appealed four times to the plant designers but did not obtain any help.

Many industrial enterprises of Pavlodar Oblast demonstrate analogous negligence. Among them are such giants as Ekibastuzugol [Ekibastuz Coal], Ekibastuzenergostroy [Ekibastuz Power Construction] and others. Last year, they were to build haylage and silage storage for a number of sovkhozes and kolkhozes. These are simple structures. But during the summer of the 86 such trenches, they began building only 74 and only 17 had been completed by the start of laying down the feed for storage. The Pavlodar, Yermak and Ekibastuz gorkoms and gorispolkom, the party committees of the industrial enterprises gave no thought to the questions of organizing the forces or delivering building materials and equipment. But, incidentally, they sent more people than was required and this merely created confusion on the spot.

Such shortcomings in the organizing of sponsorship aid to the countryside are more often the result of hurried decisions, bureaucratic red tape and direct mismanagement. The elimination of these is a very urgent task for the party, soviet and economic bodies.

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#### Goals of Political Reform Examined

18000616 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE  
*OBRAZOVANIYE* in Russian No 2, Jan 89 pp 15-22

[Article by Georgiy Sergeyevich Merkulov, candidate of juridical sciences, USSR MVD Academy: "The State and Democratization: About the Reform of the Political System of Soviet Society"; the journal notes that this article is recommended for persons taking the course "Extension of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The reform of the political system, which has begun in our country, advances questions of the organization of state power, the formation of its highest organs, and the division of functions between them to the forefront today. The most important principles and the legal bases for this work have been defined by the laws concerning changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and concerning elections of USSR peoples deputies, which were passed by the extra-ordinary 12th Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation.

The entire circle of these questions is tied to two central ones—what role has the state played within the political system of Soviet society and in what direction will this role be changed in the course of reform of the political system?

In the preceding issue of this journal we published materials concerning the make-up of the political system of Soviet society, what elements go into it.<sup>1</sup> Propagandists and their listeners can use this explanation. Only two basic additions should be made to it. First, that the organization of the political system is determined not only by the elements which go into it, but also by the relationships between them, between its component parts. In this sense, the question about the role and place of the state within the political system of Soviet society is also, above all, a question of the relationships of state organs with the people, with themselves, with the party, with social organizations, etc. It is especially important to see the trends in these relationships today, in a period when a radical reform of the political system is being carried out. And, second, precise definition of the place of the party in society, as its political vanguard, changes in its structure, the division its functions, and restructuring of its apparatus and work methods comprise the core of the political reform, upon which will also depend the increased role of the soviets and the changed character of their activities.

Development and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state and increasingly full revelation of its democratic, nationwide character are the key problems of party policy today. However, in solving these problems, it is necessary to overcome such negative, anti-democratic phenomena as the governmentalization [logosudarstvennye] of social life, the substitution of soviet organs by those of the party, an absence of appropriate democratic control over the exercise of state power, usurpation of

the functions of representative elected organs by their executive apparatus, and the like. These testify that the relationship between the state and other elements of the political system do in many ways do not always correspond to the ideal of socialist political organization, that wrong approaches and traditions have taken shape, which must be overcome today. All this speaks of a need, if only briefly, to assess the historical experience of the establishment and development of a socialist state in our country.

### Historical Experience of the Soviet State System

The Soviet socialist state emerged as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the organized rule of the proletariat in exercising governmental leadership of society. "The proletariat requires state power," V.I.Lenin indicated, "a centralized organization of force, an organization of coercion both for suppression of the opposition of the oppressors and for leadership of the enormous mass of the population, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, and the semi-proletariat in the cause of establishment' of a socialist economy" (Complete Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 26).

Soviet state power during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat being the expression of the will of an absolute majority of society, played a decisive role in creation of the new society. In this process it itself underwent changes: With liquidation of the exploiting classes the function of suppressing the opposition of the overthrown exploiters gradually fell away and realization of its main, creative tasks unfolded in full force. Having fulfilled its historic mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as known, was transformed into the political power of all working people, and the proletarian state into a state of all the people, in which representative and direct democracy is called upon to ensure the sovereignty of the people. This theoretical conclusion, made by the CPSU, represents a development of the well-known Leninist proposition concerning the socialist state as already not being a state "in the true sense of the word" (see vol. 31, p 180) or even a "semi-state," which is gradually growing into social self-rule. However, unfortunately, after the death of Lenin, an approach to the state precisely in its "full", in its old sense, came to prevail both in theory and in practice: State regulation spread to an excessively broad sphere of social activity.

The idea of governmentalization of social life was advanced by I.V. Stalin. In a speech at Sverdlovsk University as early as 1925, he said: "The Soviet state apparatus, in the profound sense of this word, consists of soviets plus millions of organizations of all and every kind of non-party and party associations, which unite the soviets with the deepest lower classes', which merge the state apparatus with the millions of the masses and destroy step by step any resemblance of a barrier between the state apparatus and the population" (Collected Works, vol.7, p. 162). The drive to encompass

through detailed centralized planning and control all the threads of life literally swaddled society and became a serious brake on the initiative of people, social organizations and collectives. This gave rise to a limited understanding of democracy and then to a "shadow" economy and culture that lived parasitically off the inability of state organs to satisfy on a timely basis and fully the material and spiritual needs of the population. In sum, the political system which had been created by the October Revolution was subjected to serious deformations, which touched both its component parts, including the state, and the relationships between them, and the operating methods of the party, the state, social organizations, and labor collectives. And in a situation of deformation, Stalin's personality cult, and massive repressions and illegalities also become possible. The administrative command system and the methods of management which developed in these years had a ruinous effect on various aspects of the development of society. The roots of many of the difficulties which our society is experiencing today extend back to this system.

Use was not made of the possibilities that were opened up by the decisions of the 20th and 22nd CPSU congresses aimed at decisively correcting the state of affairs in the organization of state power, its place in social life, and its ties with other elements of the political system—first of all because of an undervaluation and disparagement of the significance of socialist democracy. And this led anew to relapses of cult phenomena. The political system turned out to be incapable of protecting the country from an intensification of pre-crisis phenomena in economic and social life and foredoomed to failure the reforms which were undertaken in the second half of the 1960's and the 1970's, when a formal concentration of economic management functions in the hands of the party political leadership became characteristic. In fact, the management apparatus, which grew to almost a hundred all-union and eight hundred republic ministries and departments, practically began to dictate its own will in the economy and politics. It was specifically the departments and other management structures that held in their hands the execution of decisions that were made, that by their actions or lack of actions determined what would be and not be, without bearing either economic or political responsibility for their actions. The soviets, and to a large extent also party organs, turned out not to be in a position to control the pressures of departmental interests.

During the years of stagnation, the role of the executive apparatus increased abnormally in size. The number of people elected to various state and social organs reached a third of the country's adult population, but at the same time the basic mass of them were kept apart from taking real part in the resolution of state and social affairs.

Such a situation could not continue for long. Having taken the course of revolutionary renewal of socialism, the party designated as one of its key tasks the elimination of existing deformations and full restoration of the democratic principles of the Soviet state system.

### Return to Full Power for the Soviets

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, realizing the directives of the 27th Congress, defined the decisive direction for reform of the political system to be the provision of full power to the soviets of peoples deputies, as being the basis of the socialist state system and of self-government within the country.

For this, in the course of the reform, it is necessary to precisely delimit the functions of party and state organs in accordance with the Leninist concept of the role of the Communist Party as the political vanguard of society and the role of the Soviet state as the organization and weapon of the power of the people.

V.I. Lenin repeatedly pointed to the harmfulness of views to the effect that the ruling party should rule directly, ignoring or replacing other organizations of the working people, and demanded "much more precise definition of the functions of the Party (and its Central Committee) and of the power of the soviets (vol. 45, p. 61), sharply criticized attempts to lay upon the Party the responsibility for solution of every specific problem, and condemned the practice when "they haul a specific, small matter all the way up to the Politburo" (*ibid*, p. 113).

It cannot be said that, after Lenin, the question of the division of functions between party and state was not raised at one time or another during the history of our society. More than once, both the abnormality of the existing situation and the necessity of changing it were acknowledged, even with references to Lenin's principle. However, things not only did not change for the better but, with the years, became progressively worse. As the problems of economic development became more complicated, the party was drawn into the solution of a great variety of management tasks. It was specifically in this spirit that the thesis concerning the increase in the management role of the Party was interpreted. And its apparatus grew accordingly. The logic of the administrative command system dictated preservation and strengthening of such a practice: It was considered that this was the most effective way to solve the problems of our development.

Having worked out a concept for restructuring the political organization of Soviet society, the Party has begun solution of the problem of defining the functions of the country's upper management echelons. In accordance with decisions that have been made, the Central Committee and the Politburo are to perform and act as organs of political leadership, without supplanting the supreme organs of authority and management—the USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers.

At the same time, the legal foundations are being laid the leadership by the soviets on all levels of the country's political system. By the Law on Changes and Amendments to the USSR Constitution, passed in extra-ordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, it is planned to strengthen the legislative, management, and supervisory function of the soviets. From now on, all important questions of state, economic, and social life will be passed on to them for examination and decision. At the same time, the primacy of elected organs over executive ones and their apparatuses will be established. This is also manifested in the fact that the members of executive committees of local soviets at all levels, and also the directors of their departments and administrations, the judges, and state arbitrators may not become deputies to the soviet to which they are subordinate. The same goes for members of boards and the directors of departments of the USSR as well as of the union and the autonomous republics.

Regarding the relationships of party and soviet organs then, in accordance with decisions of the 19th Party Conference, the party policies—economic, social, and national—will be carried out not through direct instructions addressed to organs of the national government, but through Communist Party members working in them.

Serious steps are planned to democratize the work of the soviets. In particular, the range of questions which will be decided exclusively at congresses of peoples deputies and sessions of supreme and local soviets is being expanded; periodic release of deputies from their professional and production obligations for work in the soviets, standing committees, and election districts is envisaged; and, within the framework of the law, every soviet will be given full opportunity to select forms and methods of its own activities taking account of local conditions. When forming executive committees, designating and approving the directors of their organs, administrations and services, nomination of several candidates, secret voting, and the conduct of a competition will become the rule. The work of soviets at all levels must be conducted openly, must constantly be in view of the voters.

Other new forms of the work of soviets are also stipulated by legal norms. In local organs of power, besides cities (cities of rayon subordination), rural towns and villages, permanently functioning soviet presidiums will be elected, and in all soviets and, without exception, their chairmen will be chosen by secret ballot.

An important democratic move will be introduction of a prohibition against one and same person holding any position to which he is appointed or elected by the soviets for more than two successive terms.

### New Principles of the Formation of State Power

The soviets will become truly working organs under the condition that those elected to them are people of principle, who have a broad view of state affairs, who

firmly support socialist renewal, and who are capable of suitably representing their constituents and actively exercising the rights which they have been given. Therefore, reestablishment of the authority and influence of the soviets has required a fundamental renewal of the election system. The basis for its reform was laid by the laws on changes and amendments to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR peoples deputies, which implement the decisions of the 19th Conference. In the course of the present election campaign, we must ensure unlimited nomination of candidates, their broad and free discussion, the inclusion on ballots of a larger number of candidates than the number of seats, strict observance of democratic election procedures, regular reporting by deputies, and a possibility for their recall.

One of the important directions of reform of the political system consists of decentralization of administration and of a redistribution of functions and powers that will ensure maximum initiative and independence of local areas.

In accordance with the principles of decentralization and self-reliance of the soviets, the management of local affairs should be reorganized on the principles of self-management, self-financing, and self-sufficiency, and the coordination of regional interests with statewide ones. And for this, local soviets should have stable sources of income that are based on long-term norms. It is planned to provide revenues necessary for economic development, improving the life of the population, environmental protection, and solution of other pressing problems from the accumulated funds of all enterprises situated in the territory which is subordinate to the soviets, while extra-budgetary funds for development will be formed from supplementary revenues, including receipts from the population.

At the same time, reform of the political system presupposes a strengthening of the role of the central organs of power which express nationwide interests common to the entire Soviet people. In particular, the role and responsibility of the USSR Council of Ministers will grow as the supreme executive and administrative organ, answerable to the USSR Congress of Peoples Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet, for carrying out domestic and foreign policy and for the development and implementation of plans and long-range programs for economic and social and cultural development.

#### Restructuring the Management Apparatus

For the democratization of society it is necessary to introduce systematic work aimed at simplification of the structure and improvement of the methods of work of the entire state apparatus. Not a single link in the system of management can remain outside the restructuring process. Unnecessary links will have to be eliminated and the numerical size of the apparatus will have to be cut to an optimal limit. The new type apparatus being

created in the process of restructuring should be based upon high professionalism, should possess modern information technology, and should be democratically controlled by the people.

The state management apparatus that was inherited from the period of stagnation suffers seriously from bureaucratism. It remains excessively unwieldy and in large part functions in isolation from the requirements and interests of society. Measures that are worked out by the party for transforming the economy and other aspects of the country's life are frequently being paralyzed by the bureaucratic activities of the ministries and state and economic organs and by the passivity of many party organizations and soviets of peoples deputies. Departmentalism and pursuit of narrow local interests are still widespread and deception, self-will, and violations of Soviet law persist. There are many cases of suppression of critics and of the initiative of the working people.

The decisions of the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress laid the foundations for a continuing attack against bureaucratism and against such phenomena engendered by it as dictatorial instructions, administrative tyranny in the economy and the social and spiritual spheres, official indifference to the rights and needs of people, and an attitude of disregard toward public opinion and the social experience of the workers. The positions of bureaucratism are being fundamentally undermined by the radical economic reform, reform of the political system, the processes of democratization in the party and society, glasnost, the development of criticism and self-criticism, and the real involvement of the people in the management of society. At the same time, bureaucratism, as a social evil, still has not become a thing of the past.

In its resolution "On the Struggle Against Bureaucratism," the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference worked out an expanded system of measures for its elimination. Having positively evaluated the measures taken to restructure management and to reduce the number of elements involved in it in accordance with the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the June (1987) Central Committee Plenum, the conference pointed out that this work must be carried on continuously, ensuring that the management system is in accord with the changes that are constantly taking place within society.

One of the important means of struggle against bureaucratism is the transfer of current management functions and powers downward from above, concentrating the efforts of centralized leadership first of all on the most important processes. Strict observance by managers at all levels of the rights, established by law, of labor collectives and efforts to energize the work of their councils are also acquiring special significance today.

The primary task of the apparatus is competent organization of its affairs. For this, serious changes are needed in the procedures themselves for developing and arriving at management decisions, making these as simple as possible, freeing them from a succession of self-protecting agreements, intentional demands for absolutely meaningless reports and information from local levels, and greatly oversimplified record-keeping. Variant solutions to the most important economic and social problems should be submitted to scholars for their expertise, to the public and, in the most important cases, to national discussion or referendum.

In the course of radical management reform, it is necessary to include the apparatus within the system of new economic ties and relationships, to overcome the approach of equalization in the payment of administrators, and to make this closely dependent upon the cost-accounting results of the work of sectors, enterprises and organizations, and territories, so that management organs do in fact bear responsibility for the negative consequences of their activities and the labor collectives have a real means to exert an influence on them.

In struggling against bureaucratism, at the same time, the authority of the director should be protected and strengthened in every way, the training and retraining of personnel in the field of management should become widespread, and the management skills of management workers and specialists should be substantially increased. Full use must be made of personnel policy in the struggle against bureaucratism.

A decisive factor for eliminating bureaucratism is giving real power to the people, the broad attraction of workers into the management of state and social affairs. Communists must be in the vanguard of this work. It is the duty of all Party organizations, of all Party members, as is noted in the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, to make full use of the conditions created by restructuring in a consistent, uncompromising struggle against the social ills of bureaucratism and for high quality of the socialist management apparatus.

#### Formation of a Socialist State Governed by Law

The final goal of the consistent democratization of Soviet society is creation of a socialist state governed by law as the organizational and functional forms of political power that correspond fully to socialism, to the principles of socialist democracy.

The existing political system, as experience shows, has for decades adapted itself not to the organization of social life within the framework of laws, but mainly to the fulfillment of the painful directives and instructions of one or another leader. The pronouncement of democratic principles in words and authoritarianism in practice, hackneyed incantations about the sovereignty of the people and voluntarism and subjectivism in practice, empty rhetoric about democratic institutions and real

violations of the norms of the socialist way of life, a shortage of criticism and glasnost—all this, unfortunately, has been sufficient widespread and has taken root in the life of our society. This has provoked, and could not but provoke, equanimity, a weakening of the social activity of the masses, an alienation of the man of labor from public property and management. The basic problems of restructuring are hung up on an ossified system of power, in its command-pressure structure, today—both economic reform, and development of the social and cultural sphere, and teaching people a solicitous and interested attitude toward all that is taking place within our country.

During the time that has passed since the turn in the direction of restructuring, many important measures have been taken to ensure its success. However all these are only the start of a great labor connected with the formation of a socialist state governed by law. Its basic feature is the primacy and exultation of the law, which expresses the will of the people. Government and Party organs, social organizations, labor collectives, and all officials and citizens must function on a strictly legal basis under socialism.

At the same time, not only do the citizens bear a responsibility to the state, but the state also bears a responsibility to the citizens. It is obligated to show constant concern about strengthening guarantees of the rights and freedoms of Soviet people: of their social rights (to labor, rest, education, health protection, social security, and the like), which the Soviet Union proclaimed to the world, of the material and legal conditions for realization of their constitutional freedoms (freedom of speech, the press, assembly, meetings, street processions and demonstrations), of guarantees of the personal rights of the citizen (the inviolability of the person and his residence, confidentiality of correspondence, telephone conversations, etc.).

During the coming years we stand to carry out a broad legal reform in our country, which will be called upon to ensure the supremacy of the law in all spheres of the life of society and to strengthen the support mechanisms of socialist law and order on the basis of developing popular sovereignty.

The resolution of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference "On Legal Reform" defines its main tasks: improvement of the legislative activity of the supreme organs of power of the USSR, the union and the autonomous republics aimed at strengthening the constitutional system within the country; a decisive rise in the role of Soviet laws, which regulate the most important areas of social relationships; and consistent realization of the principle that everything is permitted that is not prohibited by the law. It is particularly important to democratize the legislative process. From now on, it must operate on the basis of glasnost and of competent scientific evaluation and discussion of draft laws, with the participation of the broad public, of the entire people.

An inseparable part of the legal reform is fundamental review, codification and systematization of legislation. Taking account of the new conditions of economic management, humanism and democratization of social life, and intensification of measures to prevent violations of the law, it will be necessary to make fundamental changes to legislation concerning socialist property, planning, financial, taxation and economic relationships, and environmental protection, as well as to norms regulating labor, housing, pension and other questions relating to the lives of working people, and to reexamining criminal, administrative, judicial procedure, and corrective-labor legislation.

For the purposes of ensuring that laws and government resolutions strictly correspond to the demands of the Constitution, a USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee has been established and work on supervision is being intensified to ensure that the prescriptions of the law are strictly observed in departmental normative acts and that the number of such acts is sharply reduced.

#### Restructuring of Law Protection Organs

One of the important tasks of restructuring is to raise the role of the court within the system of socialist democracy. In the course of court reform it will be necessary to strengthen guarantees of the realization of such foundations of Soviet judicial procedure as controversiality, glasnost, strict observance of the presumption of innocence, and inadmissibility both of accusatory bias and of connivance with regard to those who have infringed Soviet law. It is necessary to raise the authority of the court, to guarantee the absolute independence of judges and their subordination only to the law, to define specific measures of responsibility for interference in their activities and for contempt of court. One of the guarantees of strengthening the independence of judges will be the election of peoples judges of rayon (city) peoples courts and the judges of city, oblast and kray courts by higher-level soviets of peoples deputies, and also the establishment of a maximum period they may serve—10 years for judges and 5 for peoples assessors.

Under the conditions of economic reform, of the introduction of cost accounting, self-management and self-financing, a need arises to broaden the powers of State Arbitration in the matter of strengthening contract discipline and protecting the rights of enterprises and cooperatives, to substantially increase the role of justice organs, and to strengthen juridical services in the soviets of peoples deputies, ministries and departments, and economic organizations.

The task that has been set to decisively increase the responsibility of the procurators, to fully reestablish the Leninist principle of procuracy oversight, which is called upon to strictly supervise the implementation, identical

understanding, and application of the law throughout the entire country and to persistently combat violations of socialist legality, no matter whom they come from. Further strengthening of the independence of the procurators and exclusion of any pressure on them and interference in their activities must serve this task.

It will also be necessary to improve the work of the militia, to raise the standards and professional knowledge of the employees of internal affairs organs, to ensure their strictest observance of socialist legality, to strengthen their ties to labor collectives and the population, and to eliminate malpractices which exist here.

Important significance is ascribed to raising the role of the Bar in the provision of juridical assistance to citizens, state enterprises and cooperative and to representing their interests in court, other state organs and in social organizations. In particular, participation by defense attorneys should be broadened during preliminary investigation and court proceedings.

One matter that cannot be put off is the provision of personnel for the legal reform, which presupposes creation of an orderly system for the selection, education, training and retraining of jurists who are being directed into work in the soviets of peoples deputies, the national economy, the militia and other law protection organs.

Finally, formation of a socialist state governed by law, reform of the political system, and introduction of new methods of economic management will proceed successfully if effective measures are carried out with regard to restructuring the legal education of the population, the organization of universal legal education as a unified nationwide, party-wide program which encompasses all levels of the working people, all personnel in the center and in local areas. In teaching a respect for Soviet law, standards of socialist democracy, and a high level of civil activity and responsibility, the system for political training of the workers is called upon to play an important role.

Reform of the political system of Soviet society has taken its first steps. The direction of subsequent steps has been laid out. These steps must be taken without delay, but also without haste, gradually measuring them against the basic goal of our progress—the creation of a socialist state governed by law.

#### Footnote

1. See F. Gelbukh, "What Does the Concept of the Political System of Soviet Society Mean?", POLITICHESKOYE OBRAZOVANIYE No. 1, 1989.

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## Comintern Policies, Leaders Reexamined on 70th Anniversary

**History, Lenin's Positive Role Viewed**  
*18300407 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 4*

[Summary of interview with three doctors of historical sciences of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism [IML]: Professor L. M. Minayev, F. I. Firsov, and K. K. Shirinya; conducted by unnamed PRAVDA correspondent, compiled by A. Illin, and edited by IML Director G. L. Smirnov: "Lenin and the Comintern"]

[Text]

### Pages of History

**March 1989 marks the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist International, which united all communist parties of the world and lasted until the summer of 1943. The Comintern played a major role in developing the international communist movement and in organizing the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation as well as against imperialist reaction, fascism, and the perils of war.**

**The founder and leader of the Comintern, who laid the foundations and established the principles of the communist movement, was V. I. Lenin.**

**The period of Lenin's activity in the Comintern is discussed by PRAVDA's correspondent with three scholars of the Institute of Marxism- Leninism, attached to the CPSU Central Committee: Professor L. M. Minayev, doctor of historical sciences, together with doctors of historical sciences F. I. Firsov and K. K. Shirinya.**

**This material is published under the editorial supervision of IML Director G. L. Smirnov.**

### Under the Influence of October

**[Question] The first question, of course, to be raised by our readers is: Why is it that today we should turn once again to the history of the Comintern? Is it the occasion of its 70th anniversary alone? Or is it a genuine need to read afresh these pages chronicling the history of the international communist movement?**

**[Answer] Although much has been written of the Comintern, all the same, we must go back to its history, and not merely because of the anniversary celebration. We must return to the Leninist stage, first of all, to fill in the gaps that exist because of the silence that was kept and the distortions that occurred during the period of the cult of personality and the years that followed; and, perhaps most important, to respond to the many questions causing discussion and dissension among us here and abroad.**

It must be acknowledged that the controversy surrounding the Comintern, in fact, never let up. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were accused of splitting the working-class movement in creating the Third International—which later received the name Communist—and of creating an organization operating exclusively “in the interests of Moscow.”

Today new judgments and contentions have been added to the previous ones. Especially caustic is the controversy that surrounds the period when Stalin and his henchmen directed the activities within the Comintern ispolkom. These were eventful and at times tragic pages in the history of the Comintern as in the fate of party leaders within its ranks. We shall return to this period in subsequent published materials.

There has been a lot of criticism—much of it, let it be said directly, indiscriminate criticism—and attempts have been made to delete the entire history of the Third International. By seizing upon certain quotations from official documents of the Comintern and utterances by Lenin and other leading figures, attempts have often been made to take them out of a particular historical context and treat them as absolutes. Attempts have also been made to attribute to the communist internationalists certain “destructive” ideas and actions, which, it is alleged, even now obstruct unity in the struggle for democracy and the universal interests of mankind.

What can we say about these efforts? There is no sense in blaming or justifying history, nor is it possible to alter it; one way or another, it has taken place under the influence of specific circumstances. History is a complex and contradictory confrontation of a multiplicity of factors and forces with the actions of historical figures, of parties, and the masses. History can and must be studied, understood, and interpreted, so that lessons may be derived from it that have significance for the future as well as the present. All of this applies in full to the pages of the history of the Comintern. The correct analysis of it is an objective necessity.

**[Question] What were the specific historical circumstances when the Comintern was established?**

**[Answer] The decisive influence in the world situation was the October Revolution in Russia. The overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the political power of the working class in the interests of building a new society, and the revolutionary withdrawal from the imperialist war—these are the reasons why workers throughout the world were drawn by the example of our country. The working-class movement in Europe was experiencing an upsurge without precedent. Revolutionary uprisings broke out in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and these formerly powerful empires collapsed. For the bourgeoisie these were days of alarm and terror. Consider, for example, a characteristic admission by the British prime minister, D. Lloyd George, who on 25 March 1919 wrote these words to**

French Premier G. Clemenceau and U. S. President W. Wilson: "All of Europe is rife with the spirit of revolution. A deep feeling not simply of dissatisfaction but of indignation and rage reigns among the working class against the conditions which existed before the war. From one end of Europe to the other the masses are no longer content with the entire economic, social, and political order."

This is eloquent testimony, you will agree.

Of course, now we can hold discussions and analyze the extent to which the subjective or objective conditions were ripe for revolution in one country or another. But then the proletarian revolutionaries saw in the rise of the workers' movement a great revolutionary opportunity for victory over the bourgeoisie. They proceeded from the conviction that a new era had begun, the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and that in this situation the unification of the revolutionary forces of the working class was absolutely necessary.

Who was capable of acting as the leader of the proletariat in the intensifying battles of the revolution? The old social democratic parties of the Second International?

It is known that Lenin did not deny the services rendered by the Second International in organizing and consolidating the working class and in propagating the ideas of socialism. At the start of the 20th century he believed that within the framework of the Second International, despite the growth of social democratic tendencies, there was still a possibility for the regrouping of forces and the overcoming of bourgeois political and ideological influence on the workers' movement. With the beginning of World War I, however, a majority of the parties in the Second International had moved over to a position of social chauvinism. Their leaders voted for war loans and proclaimed the necessity of "defending the fatherland" and peace between classes as they helped the ruling classes drive masses of soldiers to war. They repudiated their former internationalist and anti-war resolutions. This brought about the ideological and political collapse of the Second International and led to a split in the working-class movement between the revolutionaries and the social reformists.

No, these parties were in no position to head up the revolutionary movement under the new conditions. Another organization was needed, and this was the Third—or Communist—International.

It is noteworthy that V. I. Lenin discerned even at the start of World War I that for the sake of the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war and the leadership of this struggle it was necessary to break off relations with the opportunists and create a new International. He worked out the theoretical and ideological principles for the new international organization and the entire communist movement. Of fundamental significance were Lenin's works on imperialism; his creative development

of Marxist teaching about socialist revolution; his conclusions about the victory of the proletarian revolution becoming possible first in one country, taken separately, then in another; as well as his teachings about the proletarian state and a party of a new type.

At the same time Lenin, the Bolsheviks, and internationalist elements in the other workers' parties were striving to consolidate forces in the international workers' movement. This is attested to by two international conferences held by the internationalists—one in Tsimmervald [transliterated], Switzerland, in the 1915, and the other in Kintal [transliterated] in 1916. At the end of 1918, the first communist parties were formed, proclaiming as their goal the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. It was with the emergence of these parties, and because of the effort to unify their forces internationally, that the political and organizational preconditions came into being for creating the Third International. Its first congress was held 2-6 March 1919.

By design of the founders of the Comintern, it was called upon to assist in every way possible the unification of proletarians for the sake of putting pressure on capitalism; to work out a scientifically sound strategy and tactics for the communist movement; and to assist in the creation and development of communist parties capable of leading the workers' struggle and combating social reformism in the workers' movement.

It should be recognized that the Third International was founded on principles of democratic centrism, which, Lenin believed, would ensure unity of action by the parties while permitting their collective participation as equals in the development of joint policies. In the opinion of the spokesmen for its member parties as well as the most prominent figures in the Comintern, under these conditions the centralization of efforts by Communists was of particular importance. They looked upon the Comintern as the international of revolutionary activity, which very soon would be capable of including continuous revolutionary movement as a factor in the social struggle.

[Question] It might be well to recall the fate of the "old" or Second International. So far as we know, its leaders did not want to admit that the Second International was, so to speak, torpedoed and vanquished by social chauvinism. What does the history of its collapse have to teach us?

[Answer] History convincingly demonstrates the ruinous consequences of renegeing on principles of proletarian internationalism. We are mindful of this today primarily because once again, at the present stage, the unity of the workers in the struggle for peace and against the threat of war acquires special significance. The fundamental interests of all workers, all laboring people, apart from political party affiliation, are one and the same. All want a stable peace, security, improved working conditions, broader social rights, stronger democracy, and a higher

standard of living. It is for this reason that they are anxious not to revive controversy and feelings of distrust or enmity, but on the contrary to set aside everything that disunites the various political tendencies among the workers, and to open up opportunities for drawing together and cooperating more closely.

### The Slogan of World Revolution

[Question] Consciously or unconsciously, we look upon history from the standpoint of the present day from a contemporary perspective. This simplifies our task, of course; for today we already know which things the founders of the Comintern dreamed of came to pass and which things did not. But this obscures the objective understanding of reality, the psychology of the people of that time—their outlook and feelings. How are we nowadays, for example, to evaluate what was perhaps the most widespread slogan of the time, particularly, during the period from 1918 to 1923—the slogan of “world proletarian revolution”? Could it be that it was effective?

[Answer] Certain speakers at the Comintern conferences invariably concluded their speeches or reports with the words; “Long live the revolution!” To what extent was there any realistic basis for this utterance? The controversy about this continues. There are historians, and not only among the Social Democrats, who believe that the communists of that time were carried away by the Russian example, overestimated their powers and the critical nature of the situation, and that, generally speaking, the entire Comintern line of those years was an expression of “revolutionary ardor,” although such slogans were quite unrealistic at the time.

Undoubtedly, dealing with the actual outcome of the history of those difficult years is incomparably easier than trying to figure out whether the communists did or did not overestimate the degree of revolutionary fervor of the existing situation. For those taking part in the events of the time, however, the situation was neither transparent nor easy to discern. The issue was to be decided by class conflicts, concrete relations between forces, the state of organization and readiness of the masses, and the conduct and political acumen of their leaders, as well as, of course, the power and organization of the class enemy.

We have already said that Central Europe was experiencing then a revolutionary upsurge. That is beyond dispute. There were universal demands for the punishment of those responsible for the war—to settle accounts with the speculators, the embezzlers of public funds, and the pillagers, who thrived on the sufferings of the millions. The prestige of bourgeois democracy had fallen disastrously, and this accounts for the broad support in many countries for the ideas of Soviet power (or, similar to them, the ideas of democratic bodies generated by the workers).

V. I. Lenin, his comrades-in-arms, and the leading figures in the Comintern looked upon October 1917 and the upsurge in the world that followed as a single whole—a period when the revolutionary working class was commencing its assault on the capitalist order. Now, in retrospect, we realize that it was necessary for the working class to go through the bitter experience of defeat. But the communists who were there in the midst of the struggle in 1919-1920 took the situation as it developed to be an opportunity for the overthrow of capitalism not only in Russia but in a number of other countries. The maturation of the revolutionary situation was a reality. Lenin thought it unforgivable not to exploit it, and his comrades-in-arms at the time acted “in the expectation of world revolution” (Vol 42, p 1).

It can scarcely be denied that the guidelines of the Comintern exaggerated the possibilities of victory for the revolution and that, as they tried to exploit this “historical chance,” the communists in many respects shared a romantic sense of revolution and underestimated the difficulties on the way to it. Lenin at this time, however, often directed attention to the need for being realistic, and for constructing a policy that would stand up as science as well as art. Lenin could also see that the unique historical situation that emerged at the end of the war, and that was to continue for a certain time after the war (the length of time varying in each country), was not a permanent occurrence. It may be recalled that in his report to the Second Congress of the Comintern in July-August 1920 Lenin was sharply critical of contentions that the crisis of the bourgeoisie was hopeless. It may be said that throughout the period of revolutionary upsurge Lenin remained aware of the volatile nature of the historical process.

[Question] The slogan of world revolution is often associated with a question of allegedly covert encouragement of revolution by the Soviet Union and the Comintern in other countries...

[Answer] Understanding the October Revolution as marking the beginning of a new era—the beginning of the breakup of the capitalist order and of the transition to socialism—does not in and of itself presuppose the export of armed revolution from the Soviet Union to other countries.

Let us phrase the question differently. Were there feelings in favor of such a recourse within the Comintern and the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)? Indeed, there were. After the defeat of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, for example, L. D. Trotsky sent the party Central Committee a letter in which he proposed, in view of the fact that Red Army was then “of little weight” in the estimation of Europeans, creating a well-equipped corps and directing it at India in the rear of the imperialist forces. In place Lenin’s policy calling for union with the anti-imperialist, revolutionary liberation movement of oppressed peoples, he proposed an adventurist plan for a military “shift of the revolution” to the

East. The plan was rejected, but such sentiments persisted in some people. It is possible to identify a moment in the life of the Comintern at the time of the Second Congress, and during the days of the Red Army's attack on Warsaw, when the revolutionary hopes of many delegates were tied to increasing military action. These feelings were reflected in the various formulations of the manifesto issued by the Second Comintern Congress. It was there that expression was given to the thesis on "civil war throughout the world."

It may be noted that N. I. Bukharin in his time proposed the slogan "Red Intervention." If the imperialist powers arrogated to themselves the right of sealing the fate of the Soviet Union by force of arms, he reasoned, why could the proletariat not assume the same right? But this thesis, which appeared in an article by Bukharin at the end of 1920 (and was repeated by him at the Fourth Comintern Conference), did not win support. Certain similar declarations by other communist spokesmen may be found, including some by Western Europeans. On the basis of these instances, there are even allegations that all hopes rested on military sorties and that the principal agent of world revolution was the Red Army.

The basic conception of world revolution in the Comintern, despite the existence in its ranks of Leftist leanings as well as romantic revolutionary sentiments, was the Marxist-Leninist tenet of the ripening of revolution through the dynamics of class contradictions, primarily internal contradictions.

In Lenin's book "The Infantile Ailment of Leftism in Communism," for example, which was handed out to the delegates of the Second Comintern Conference, great emphasis was put on the significance of the subjective and objective preconditions of the revolution. The book develops the doctrine of the revolutionary situation. The substance of "the fundamental law of revolution" (as Lenin twice refers to it) is as follows: Revolution is possible only on the basis of a comprehensive national crisis, and only when the masses bring to bear their own political experience (Vol 44, pp 69-70). Is this really consistent with the covert encouragement of revolution in other countries?

Moreover, let us recall Lenin's report to the Second Comintern Conference. The principal focus of attention there was on the economic roots of the crisis of bourgeois domination and on the internal contradictions of the bourgeois order.

After the conference, Lenin warned more than once against any adventurism or any kind of covert encouragement in the revolutionary struggle. One year later, in a letter to the Polish communists, he wrote key words about the necessity of "nurturing the revolution until the full ripening of the fruit" and, further, of the "victory of Soviet power from within" (Vol 44, p 181). Well known, too, is Lenin's adjuration to take care of things in such a

way that nobody might say, "the Soviets are superimposing a system of their own that could be brought to Berlin on the bayonets of the Red Army" (Vol. 38, p 160). This directive of Lenin constitutes the source and the basis of a principle upon which we lay special emphasis today—the right of people to choose for themselves.

#### "Communism Is Not To Be Introduced by Force"

[Question] And how about the issue of civil war and violence? It is, of course, well known that certain documents of the Comintern declare that civil war is unavoidable.

[Answer] That is a difficult question. The post-October changes in Russia prompted the fiercest kind of opposition by the exploiting classes, armed counterrevolution, and intervention by the imperialists. These were the facts, and they could not be ignored. On the basis of them the communists formed the idea that socialist revolutions, as a rule, would be accompanied by civil wars. The Comintern acted on the basis of this idea. Its records emphasize that civil war "is imposed on the working class by its mortal enemies" (V. I. Lenin in *Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional*, Moscow, 1970, p 145). Lenin, too, often spoke of the necessity of civil war and of looking this grim, unembellished truth straight in the eyes.

But we may detect other strains in Lenin's thought, such as the idea that civil war with its cruelties, its losses, and compulsive habits of shedding blood must not be sanctified. The toilers and the working class are concerned with coming to power and achieving socialist transformations by a way that is less painful. Hence Lenin's statement about the possibility of a peaceful path to revolution. True, the fierce struggle in the Soviet Union during the period of civil war and military intervention demonstrated that a peaceful path was extremely unlikely. Yet in March 1919 a peaceful seizure of power by the working class took place in Hungary. Lenin immediately pointed to the universal significance of such an event, saying, "Other countries may come by a different path, a more humane one, to the same situation that the Soviet Union is in. That is why the example of Hungary will have a decisive significance" (Vol 38, pp 261-262). The Comintern was guided by Lenin's thesis regarding the many forms the struggle might take. He recognized the possibility of seizing power without an armed uprising "as in Hungary" (*Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional*, 1920, No 12, p 2243).

The fundamental position of the Comintern on the use of force was likewise based on Marxist-Leninist conclusions. Lenin, like Marx, considered revolutionary coercion unavoidable in overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie, inasmuch as the exploiting classes do not voluntarily relinquish their domination. Lenin declared, moreover, that revolutionary coercion is the "basic sign" of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If we analyze

carefully these utterances of Lenin, we will see that they pertain to only one aspect of proletarian power, turned in opposition to the exploiting classes. Let us cite a more general definition by Lenin: "Revolutionary coercion constitutes a lawful and necessary means of revolution only at specific moments in its development, and only in the presence of special and specific conditions; whereas a far more profound and pervasive means of achieving this revolution and the conditions for its victory has been and continues to be organizing the proletarian masses and organizing the working people" (Vol 38, p 74).

At that time the communists and revolutionaries were accused quite often of terrorism. Lenin denied these accusations, saying that it was the bourgeoisie that had imposed terrorist tactics on us, and that the Bolsheviks were the first to take steps to limit the terror to an "absolute minimum." But other ideas were present. Other views and degrees of emphasis with respect to coercion and terrorism are to be found in the works of Trotsky. A number of his articles and pamphlets contain quite a few sharp comments in opposition to the hypocrisy of bourgeois policy and the coercive actions of bourgeois power. Moreover, Trotsky believed that armed opposition of the bourgeoisie would inevitably lead to the proletarian "regime of repression's hardening into a regime of terror" (*Communist International*, 1920, No 11, pp 1757, 1759); he believed, further, that terror was an inherent resource of revolution. There are no such Leftist-anarchist views in the annals of the Comintern, but views similar to those expressed by Trotsky did exist. This very fact in our view necessitated a more severe condemnation by the Comintern of terrorism as a technique dangerous to revolutionary morale.

Lenin for his part did not strip humanitarian concerns from the goals and demands of socialist revolution. He emphasized that "communism is not to be introduced by violent means" (Vol 38, p 162).

[Question] The years 1919-1920 were extraordinarily difficult ones for Soviet Russia. Lenin, busy as he was with urgent matters, was occupied, too, with the work of the Comintern. Apart from the problems we have already touched upon, what policy problems of the Comintern particularly drew his attention?

[Answer] A central place, of course, was taken up by matters pertaining to the revolution and ways of cultivating it; and then, inseparably associated with it, how to strengthen the communist parties as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle and their ties with the masses.

Within the working class movement an intense and uncompromising struggle was being waged over the issue of being for or against the revolution. Lenin and the Comintern were irreconcilably against the conciliatory attitude of the Social Democrats and the centrist parties, and against their efforts to place in opposition to the revolutionary wave a policy of gradual improvement of

the bourgeois parliamentary regime. The ideas and corresponding policies of the Social Democrats were criticized in the harshest and most derogatory terms. To give one example, when voices were heard from the ranks of the Social Democrats in Europe regarding a possible combination of Soviet with social democratic forms, the communists, including Lenin, rejected the proposal. Why? They believed that such a slogan would deter revolutionary development. Could it have been that this showed a lack of depth in understanding the particular conditions of the working-class movement in countries of the West?

Associated with the struggle against the leadership of the social democrats at this time were hopes within the Comintern for the rapid involvement of the proletarian masses in the revolutionary movement. In 1919-1920 the idea was prevalent that the working class was moving—faster in some countries, slower in others—away the influence of reformist leadership. This process, in fact, could be observed in a number of countries. The extent of its influence in the Comintern, however, was exaggerated. Lenin was the first one to point out this error, emphasizing that the split in the working-class movement was deeper in countries of the West, that the influence of reformist ideology and traditions was stronger, and that the bourgeoisie there was considerably more experienced and cunning than it was in Russia.

In his book "The Infantile Ailment of Leftism in Communism," a virtual encyclopedia of the strategy and tactics of the communist movement, Lenin presented more cogently than ever before the issue of the struggle by the communist parties for the masses, and for winning the support of the working class and the non-proletarian toiling masses. Revealing in depth the underlying laws of the social struggle, and juxtaposing the experience of the European communists with that of Bolshevism, Lenin subjected "Left" sectarianism to caustic criticism as evidence of a lack of maturity in the communist movement. He reviewed specific "Leftist" mistakes made by the young communist parties, and he developed the doctrine of the vanguard role of the parties and their ties with the masses. For these young communist parties, romantic notions of revolution, together with "Leftism," a refusal to work in reformist trade unions and parliaments, and a rejection of compromise were formidable obstacles on the way to reaching the masses. Of course, many of the communists of other countries at that time were aware of no more of the experience of bolshevism than its aggressive spirit and intransigence. As one of the founders of the Communist Party in Germany, G. Eberlein [transliterated], expressed it, they knew "only of action, armed uprising, and a life-and-death struggle against reformism, government power, and mercenary White Guards."

Lenin's book therefore was a great event for the Comintern and for all the communist parties. Particularly important was Lenin's dictum that the party should draw closer to—and to a certain degree merge with—the

broadest base of the masses. To do this it should accurately take into account the mood and situation of the masses, working wherever the masses were in an attempt to take over every kind of existing movement, to perfect their policy, resorting to compromises and attracting allies, so as in every way possible to prepare the masses for the revolutionary struggle; and, in doing so, not to attempt to whip up the movement artificially with slogans, but rather to lead them forward, persuading them in terms of their own experience. Even at that time Lenin was stressing the fundamental necessity of seeking avenues of approach and access to the socialist revolution under conditions that obtained in countries of the West.

#### For a Single Front

[Question] As 1920 ended and 1921 began, we know the revolutionary tide in the world was starting to subside. How did Lenin and the Comintern correct the political course of the Communists under these new conditions?

[Answer] Following the defeats of the working class in Germany, Hungary, Italy, and a number of other countries, the revolutionary tide rolled back. The bourgeois order managed to withstand it and began to stabilize. It was left to the country of the Soviets to try to build a new society on its own, to overcome the state of collapse and backwardness of the economy by its own efforts, and to lay the foundations of socialism. New tasks confronted the communist parties in the capitalist countries. The Comintern contended with the task of working out a strategy that was in many respects new.

It was Lenin who first saw the changes in the development of the revolutionary struggle, necessitating alterations in the concept of world revolution. He characterized the situation in the world in 1921 as "an unstable equilibrium" (Vol 44, p 4), and he concluded that it was necessary to make the transition from an assault to a siege of the capitalist fortress (Vol 44, p 219). In the forefront for the workers in capitalist countries he put the tasks of defending their day-by-day vital interests together with the struggle for democracy and against the onslaught of reaction. Lenin tirelessly called upon communists to seek new ways to reach the masses and to resolve urgent social tasks.

Understanding the new situation and these new tasks was not an easy thing for the young communist parties to do. Feelings of revolutionary impatience, illusory beliefs in the mounting weakness of the capitalist system, ideas that the revolution might be "prodded along," and views embodied in the so-called "theory of attack" were widely disseminated. Supporters of this theory included many prominent party leaders: A. Talgemyer [transliterated] and G. Bandler [transliterated] (Germany); U. Terracini (Italy); B. Kun (Hungary); and E. Brand [transliterated] (Poland). On a number of issues they were supported by Executive Committee Chairman G. Zinov'yev.

The Leftist guidelines were extremely dangerous, threatening the communists with isolation and a tragic defeat. I. Lenin, relying on the support of the more mature and far-sighted figures in the communist movement, such as C. Zetkin in Germany, V. Smeral in Czechoslovakia, G. Dimitrov in Bulgaria, A. Warski in Poland, and M. Cachin in France, waged a fight to the finish with these Leftist adventurist views.

When he met with representatives of the parties at the Third Comintern Congress, Lenin sharply criticized efforts to use the "theory of attack" as extremely dangerous; for they gave the reactionary powers an opportunity to depict the communists as the instigators of aggression from whom it was purportedly necessary to protect the people. "If this congress does not take a firm stand against such errors, such Leftist nonsense," said Lenin at a meeting of the Third Comintern Conference on 1 July 1921, "then the entire movement is doomed" (Vol 44, p 23). He emphasized that the decisive factor was the kind of position the majority of workers found themselves in, and that it was necessary to be rid of the illusion that victory depends solely on the will of the party and the extent of its activity.

Thanks to the firm stand taken by Lenin and his supporters, the Third Congress became a turning point in the history of the Comintern. Lenin at that time gave repeated reminders that the greatest danger for the revolutionary was exaggerating the degree of revolutionary sentiment; becoming oblivious of the limits and preconditions for the successful application of revolutionary tactics; and losing the capacity to coolly calculate, weigh, and then decide when to act in a revolutionary manner, and at what moment, under what circumstances, and in what area was it necessary to switch over to reformist activity (Vol 44, p 23).

V. I. Lenin warned against efforts to copy the experience of the Bolsheviks, turning it into a pattern, a stereotype, to be superimposed on communist parties abroad. There was a tendency to do this. Of course, it was the sole successful experience of revolutionary struggle and victory, and many specific and unique features of the Russian example were accepted forthwith as universals. This was particularly apparent in the resolution passed at the Fourth Congress regarding the organization of the communist parties and the form and methods of their operation. Later, Lenin noted that this resolution was "too Russian....It reflects the Russian experience, and it is therefore entirely incomprehensible to foreigners" (Vol 45, pp 292,293). He underscored the meaning of a concrete approach, taking into account specific national differences in each country and each situation.

Lenin maintained that the essence, the living spirit, of Marxism lies in a concrete analysis of a concrete situation. "Marxism consists in a precise determination of the policy to be carried out under a specific set of conditions" (*Communisticheskiy Internatsional. Kratkiy istoricheskiy ocherk*, Moscow, 1969, p 119). In a report to

the Fourth Comintern Congress, he suggested that the parties think through the question of how to act under conditions of possible retreat and how to provide for that retreat. To do so, he advised taking precautions to achieve the organization, structure, methods, and content of a genuinely revolutionary effort, creatively emulating the Russian experience and paying particular attention to contending with the danger of fascism (Vol 45, pp 281,282,293,294).

Analyzing the new set of circumstances, Lenin wrote that the capitalist states were making efforts to consolidate their positions by making concessions to the workers, which was slowing up the communist movement and creating a certain similarity with the "social world," and that for this reason it was necessary to devise a policy with this fact in mind (Vol 45, p 402). At that time the characteristic features of the new period were yet to emerge, but the prevailing view was that a new wave of revolution would rise up in a relatively short time. Belatedly, the communists came to recognize the stabilization of capitalism as a fact. Nevertheless, many vital aspects of the period that replaced the one of revolutionary upsurge were discernible. The issues at the center of the Comintern's attention as they developed were the significance of the national liberation movement as a vital element in world politics, together with the task of uniting all forces so as to form a single front capable of waging the struggle for democracy and social progress.

[Question] What is the essential meaning and content of the policy of a single front? In the literature it is frequently looked upon as a temporary expedient, a maneuver to unmask the Social Democrats, isn't it?

[Answer] First of all, I should like to point out that its appearance coincided with that of the New Economic Policy. While the NEP, in Lenin's mind, determined party policy for the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and the victory of socialism, and while it was looked upon by the party as "in earnest and for a long time," the single front policy, as is stated in the documents of the Fourth Congress, was regarded as being for the entire epoch (*V. I. Lenin i Kommunisticheskiy Internatsional*, p 466).

In this new situation the tasks of the working-class parties and organizations were defined anew. The principal differences in the approach of the communists and the Social Democrats were not an insurmountable obstacle to organizing a joint struggle in defense of the vital interests of the workers and universal human aspirations for peace, democracy, and social justice. Opposed to worsening the state of confrontation with Social Democrat organizations, Lenin gave primary importance to inculcating in the masses a spirit of joint action. He fervently supported the initiative of the Communist Party of Germany, which early in January 1921 had issued an appeal to all proletarian organizations in that country, proposing a joint struggle in defense of the vital interests of the workers.

Lenin and the Comintern attached exceptional significance to the single front policy in opposing the forces of reaction, fascism, and the increase in the danger of war. At Lenin's suggestion, a plenary session of the Comintern ispolkom early in 1922 reviewed the issue of opposing the threat of war. C. Zetkin in her report set forth the task of "establishing a consolidated single front of the proletariat for the struggle against the war and imperialism" (*Fourth Comintern Conference, Moscow, 1920*, p 116).

At that time the single front policy was indeed often explained as a maneuver to unmask the Social Democrats. G. Zinov'yev spoke of it as a tactical maneuver "to expose the leaders' nakedness"—he was speaking of the leaders of the reformist organizations—"and so win over the masses." But such an approach was essentially a Left sectarian distortion of the single front policy, the core of which consisted of securing unity of action by the mass of workers.

Many communists, however, continued to think in terms of a revolutionary assault. They contended that inasmuch as the Comintern was created as a staff of world revolution, the single front policy could lead to the destruction of this staff and the degeneration of the communist parties. At a plenum of the Comintern ispolkom in February-March 1922, as Lenin noted, certain of these revolutionaries, after seeing that the communists were switching to the NEP and that world revolution was being set aside, "impermissibly and childishly broke into tears" (Vol 45, p 87). At that point, in the article "Notes of a Publicist," Lenin warned it should not be forgotten that it was possible to make an irreversible mistake and to perish "if mere sentiment or Red flag-waving should take the place of a sober appraisal of the situation" (Vol 44, p 421).

In providing for unity of action, Lenin saw not only an opportunity to protect the daily interests of the workers, but a way to secure fresh gains in trying to resolve the basic tasks of the working-class movement.

As an alternative to bourgeois government, the Comintern at the Fourth Congress introduced a slogan for the government of the workers (in 1923 the slogan was broadened to the government of the workers and peasants). It could arise through the cooperation and interaction of proletarian and democratic organizations and lead to the transfer of power into the hands of the workers. At the same time, the possibility was not ruled out of having a government of the workers arise through parliamentary procedures. As early as 1922 Lenin wrote that the chances were slight for "the peaceful evolution of capitalism to the new order, which we as communists do not much believe in, but which we are willing to help put to the test" (Vol 44, p 407).

Thus the new concept of developing the revolutionary process in capitalist countries was formulated. It was a concept of development through the emergence of a

universal human struggle against the attack of capital, reaction, and fascism, through the mobilization of the masses for fulfilling tasks in transitional stages, which together could reconcile the interests of various groups of workers. It also took into account the increasing significance of the struggle by the people of oppressed countries for national and social liberation. Characteristically, this concept was fashioned on the basis of collective cooperation by the representatives of the communist parties in the various countries and a community of experience among the fraternal parties.

It would, of course, be wrong to suppose that all the problems at that time had been worked out consistently and proper answers found to all the questions raised. Much appeared to be simpler than it turned out to be in fact.

The rift between the communists and the Social Democrats was too deep, and an effort in the spring of 1922 to create unity between the two parties, as a result of negotiations between representatives of various international working class organizations, ended in failure. Both sides tried to wrest concessions in their own favor, to impose demands on their opponents, and viewed the negotiations as a maneuver to expose rival political views.

The failure of the communists and Social Democrats to create a single front had tragic consequences. Relations between them became even more strained, and this led to new setbacks for the working class, while facilitating the onset of fascism. At the Fourth Comintern Conference Lenin warned that the workers in the capitalist countries were not safeguarded against the Black Hundred [right-wing extremists]. But at this time the necessity of concentrating forces against the common enemy of the workers and of cooperating with all democratic forces for this purpose was not understood. It was not for some time that the communist movement came to a realization of this truth.

[Question] V. I. Lenin's activity in the Comintern in terms of ideological theory and political significance extends far beyond the context of this organization. What in his heritage now belongs to history, and what retains a power alive in our time?

[Answer] The significance of what Lenin did for the Comintern is great and multi-dimensional, as is the significance of the Comintern's experience itself during the period of Lenin. This activity clearly reveals the courage as well as the doctrine of Lenin, and his inner capacity for continuous development by generalizing the international experience of the social struggle. The socialist ideals in his teaching are organically interrelated and unified with the interests of the broad masses and the progressive aspirations of all people.

Lenin's policy of a single front is of particular significance. For it is this policy, calling for the consolidation of all proletarian organizations and all progressive and democratic forces, developed by the Comintern during the years of Lenin and with the direct and active participation of Vladimir Ilich, that has determined the direction for developing the working class movement in which the future lies.

**Needed Changes Not Made by Stalin**  
*18300407 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 5*

[Article by A. Shutov, candidate of historical sciences under the rubric "A Look Through the Years": "The Comintern"]

[Text] Nowadays it is possible that no one doubts the need for a new reading not only of the history of our party, and of the Soviet State, but of the past of the international communist movement as well. Interest in this process is great, and it has grown especially in connection with celebrating the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Comintern.

On 2 March 1919, in Mitrofanevskiy Hall, now the Oval Hall, of the Kremlin, an international conference opened with 52 delegates from 35 organizations and 30 countries of Europe, Asia, and America. They represented the Left Socialist parties as well as the Communist movement. Thus the Communist International was founded. Present on this occasion were V. I. Lenin, N. I. Bukharin, Kh. G. Rakovskiy, G. Ye. Zinovyev, F. Platten, C. Zetkin, P. Togliatti, M. Thorez, G. Eberleyn, W. Gallacher, and other prominent figures in the international working class movement. One of the principal tasks of the Comintern at this stage was to assist the Left Socialists and the first foreign detachments of the world communist movement to form themselves, master the principles of Lenin, and become firmly established in the struggle for social progress.

The history of the Communist International still awaits impartial and objective researchers who will help us to understand the contradictions in the course of its creation and development, to erase blank spots, and to express the entire truth. As we know, the Comintern and the communist parties set as their immediate task the completion of the socialist revolution in a number of countries. By the early 1920's, however, V. I. Lenin, appraising the situation realistically, warned against making a direct assault upon capitalism. It was necessary gradually and persistently to win over the majority of the working class to the side of the communists. During the Leninist period of the Comintern, the most complex subjects were discussed in a democratic spirit. Openly upholding their respective positions, the participants found answers to the most difficult questions jointly. In making a decision they took into account the concrete historical situation with its own national conditions and traditions.

Soon after the death of Lenin, however, many of his fundamental principles and tenets were distorted. Instances of this at the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's as well as documents of the period confirm that the internationalist and collectivist spirit of this international organization began to be replaced by the bureaucratic and dictatorial methods of Stalin, who took the administrative apparatus of the Comintern virtually under his personal control. Political directives for this reason began to bear the stamp of a dogmatic and sectarian character that did not correspond to reality. Everything that did not conform to the point of view of the "chief" was cut out and discarded. Lenin's principles of democratic centralism underwent a process of deformation. In the relations between the fraternal parties, centralized methods predominated, sharply limiting the flexibility and effectiveness of the national detachments of communists, since they did not fully take into consideration all aspects of the swiftly changing conditions.

With the onset of reaction, fascism, and the threat of war in the 1930's, anti-Fascist and broadly democratic objectives were placed in the foreground by life itself. Yet instead of working out a joint platform appropriate for the consolidation of all forces, the Comintern adopted a policy of forestalling fascism by bringing about the socialist revolution, despite the fact that genuine preconditions for the revolution did not exist. Stalin's persistent stubbornness stirred dismay in the ranks of the fighters against fascism, weakening their positions and arousing distrust towards the Communists, especially since Stalin saw no difference between Social Democrats and Fascists. Thus when the Communist International issued an appeal to the workers of all countries on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, they used slogans urging a struggle "for the proletarian world revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat against fascism and the Social Democrats, and for the victory of Marxism and communism throughout the world!" It was obvious to everyone that such admonitions could only frighten the masses of democratic anti-Fascists away from communism and provoke a confrontation, leading to a split in the democratic movement.

The doctrinaire over-simplification and ideological all-inclusiveness, emanating primarily from Stalin, made it difficult to discern the international realities in all their contradictory nature and complexity, and it created false targets in combating the enemies of peace, democracy, and socialism. As the most important task of the Communists, the "leader of the world proletariat" declared war against the Social Democrats, calling them "the main bulwark of fascism" in the international arena. These accusations occasionally reached such absurd proportions that the plans of the Fascists were tied to the designs of the Social Democrats. Thus the theses of the Sixth Comintern Conference in 1928 noted that "the Social Democrats are resorting to active counterrevolutionary preparations for war against Soviet power."

Yet for all the arrogance of Stalin, he was unable to influence the overall situation developing in the world. Fascism had already become a reality. Like a dark brown stain it crept across Europe. To bring it to a halt, it was necessary to work out a common platform, the acceptance of which could consolidate all the forces of the opposition. In short, the situation required new tactics and strategy. A crucial need had arisen to change the methods of operation within the Comintern, so that the Communist parties could deal with issues as they arose in the international situation independently. Of paramount importance were the democratic principles and humanitarian goals common to all parties—the struggle with fascism and the preservation of peace.

A vital role in this process of change was played by the Seventh Comintern Congress, headed by G. Dimitrov. The new policy of the Communist International was fervently supported by such prominent spokesmen for the Communist movement as M. Thorez, P. Togliatti, W. Pieck, and C. Gottwald, among others. Relying on the ideas of Lenin, the congress pointed out the basic approaches to combating the brown plague, and it worked to form a broad united popular front for the working class in opposition to the forces of reaction, war, and fascism. The conclusions, ideas, and decisions that it worked out and adopted, despite the quickening tempo of Stalin's cult of personality, signified an important theoretical breakthrough in the dogmatic sectarian thinking that was being superimposed on the Communist movement.

Although the working class and the Communist parties in the years before the war did not succeed in realizing all the objectives set by the Seventh Congress, the policy that it worked out served to activate the anti-Fascist struggle. In fact, the basis for the formation of the anti-fascist coalition was laid at that time. It may be asserted with confidence that the democratic forces united by the general platform were capable of holding fascism in check, and this means preventing the war. In that event there would have been none of the senseless sacrifices that were made by so many people in the world. The fault for the millions of lives that were lost lies not only in the bloody ends of Hitlerite fascism. It is also irrevocably tied to Stalin, who tried in every way possible to oppose the new strategy of the Comintern. There are documents that attest to the fact that he was and continued to be faithful to his previous approach. It is this fact that explains his desire to exert "pressure" upon history, and to erase from memory and consign to oblivion all mention of the Comintern of the 1930's. It is no accident that the "Short Course in the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" contains not a single word about it, nor is there any mention by Stalin of that most important work by V. I. Lenin "The Infantile Ailment of Leftism in Communism," which sets forth the positions to be taken by the international communist movement. Stalin cruelly disposed of many of the people who were living witnesses and participants in these historical decisions of the Seventh Congress.

Among the victims of his autocratic power were leaders of the communist parties of Austria, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Finland, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Iran, and India, as well as a number of other countries.

This bloody harvest, which destroyed a host of talented internationalists faithful to Lenin's ideas, did not come to an end until the very death of Stalin. Neither the appeals nor prayers to show mercy to the condemned by the leaders of the Comintern could bring it to a halt. Not long ago I read in TRUD a letter by W. Pieck, which he sent on 28 May 1939 to D. Manulskiy, a member of the Comintern ispolkom. In it he wrote: "With the approval of Comrade Dimitrov, I have sent Comrade Beria a written appeal, asking for a chance to meet with him, since I want to cite a number of instances in which German emigres have been arrested. I and other German Communists who are members of the Comintern are convinced that they are guilty of no criminal activity against the Soviet Union." Willhelm Pieck received no answer to his letter.

The reign of despotism put the leadership above the law, and above party discipline, ethics, and humanity. Within the management bodies of the Comintern ispolkom, directions from the "chief" were to be (and were indeed) interpreted as orders; they were accepted as absolute truth within the chain of command. Very often the honor, lives and destinies of people depended on their attitude towards his "wise instructions."

Stalin's attitude towards the Comintern was reflected in the fate of that organization. By converting it into an instrument of the cult of personality, he had given foreign propagandists the pretext to contend that the Comintern posed a threat to the free world and democracy, and that the communist parties in the various countries were operating on orders from the outside, representing alien interests, and betraying the interests of their own countries. In view of all the circumstances—including the developed state of maturity and massive size of the national detachments of communists—the Presidium of the Comintern Ispolkom on 8 June 1943 announced the dissolution of the Comintern.

**Orthodox Archbishop of Lithuania Interviewed on Religious, Other Issues**

*18000632 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
11 Feb 89 p 3*

[Interview with Archbishop of Vilnius and Lithuania Victorin by correspondent A.Solarev: "We Have to Live and Work Side by Side..."]

[Text] **The attitude to the church has been noticeably changing lately. Suddenly we discovered that believers are people, too; moreover, that they are our, Soviet people. M.S.Gorbachev, at a meeting with Patriarch of Moscow and All of Russia Pimen and members of Russian Orthodox Synod, said: "Currently, we are fully restoring leninist norms in our attitude to religion, the church and believers. The attitude toward the church and believers should be determined by the need to strengthen unity among all workers and our entire people."**

Lately, our editorial offices have been getting letters in which our readers ask various questions about the functioning of the Orthodox Church in Lithuania. SOVETSKAYA LITVA's correspondent asked Archbishop of Vilnius and Lithuania Victorin to answer some of those questions.

[Solarev] Your Excellence, at the start of our conversation I would like you to give us the correct name of the Lithuanian Orthodox Church. Currently, there are discrepancies. For instance, the ELTA [Lithuanian news agency] report on the celebration of the 1,000 years of Christianity in Russia listed it as the Lithuanian Russian Orthodox Church.

[Archbishop Victorin] The correct name is the Vilnius and Lithuanian Diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church.

[Solarev] Briefly, is it a large diocese?

[Archbishop Victorin] It consists of 41 parishes and currently has 34 clergymen. It includes the monastery of the Holy Spirit and the convent of the Virgin Mary moved to the territory of the monastery in the 1960s.

[Solarev] These numbers suggest that the situation here is much better than in Russia's cities: Gorky has just 3 churches for 2 million residents, Perm 2 for 1.3 million, etc. Does this mean that your relations with the authorities were decent even in the past?

[Archbishop Victorin] I would not say that. The fact that the situation in this diocese is better compared to some others is due mainly to historical factors. In the 1930s, when the temple destruction campaign swept the country, we were spared since Lithuania was not part of the USSR at the time. But the echoes of that campaign were felt by the diocese in the late 1950s, when the above-mentioned convent of the Virgin Mary was effectively shut down, as was the Church of Good Friday and

several others. Incidentally, the status of the convent remain unclear. At the end of last year, the municipal authorities issued residence permits to several new nuns, which acknowledged its de facto existence, but legally the situation is not entirely clear.

[Solarev] And what is the attitude of the authorities now, when the attitude to believers has improved noticeably, I would even say dramatically? As is well-known, the diocese has appealed to the authorities to get back the monastery of the Holy Trinity and the Church of Good Friday in Vilnius. Have there been some progress in those questions? Are there other temples currently used for different purposes that the church would like to take under its wing?

[Archbishop Victorin] Aside from residence permits issued to the above-mentioned nuns, we have no real reason to claim that the attitude of the authorities to our church has improved. On the other hand, public concern has increased significantly. Incidentally, our conversation itself is proof of this fact. As to giving back to us several church buildings, the city ispolkom has announced that the 13th 5-year plan includes a proposal to find resources to build new buildings for the Vilnius campus of the Kaunas polytechnic institute, and "once the new building is completed, the question of the future use of the structures of the former monastery of the Holy Trinity will be considered." Can this be called progress? Judge for yourself. Also, I must note that we are not trying to take under our wing, as you say, as much as possible but base our requests on our current needs. Among those needs we have the following: some of our churches lost in the past and no longer have parish houses. And yet, such houses are necessary for the parishes to function properly.

And another issue: on the territory of the monastery of the Holy Spirit there remains an 8-unit apartment house. It is an old monastery building taken away from us after the war. This house is a major problem for us. The rules call for the gates to close at 10:30 p.m., but we can not do so because of the building's residents. People come to visit them and cars drive in and out; they also work on those cars in parking garages that have been illegally constructed on the monastery's property. Residents sometimes interfere with our services, etc. At the end of September, Father Superior and I wrote to the chairman of the Vilnius city ispolkom asking for help. Now we are in February but no answer has come yet. Thus, let me repeat that I see no improvement in the authorities' responsiveness to our needs.

[Solarev] The 1918 decree proclaimed the separation of church and state. But overzealous public servants interpreted it as the separation of the church from the life of the society. And the term freedom of conscience was interpreted by them only as freedom not to believe in God. Now, in light of new relations, what should be the

framework of relations between the church and the society? What is the place the church sees for itself in our state which is currently undergoing restructuring?

[Archbishop Victorin] It is impossible to separate the church from the society simply because the Lord's people who comprise the church are also part of the very society from which the church is being separated. Relations between the church and the society should be based on the fact that the church is part of our life. In a state that is undergoing restructuring, the church can make a significant contribution to the moral regeneration of the society—if necessary conditions are created for it. In the area of ideology, of course, we will remain irreconcilable. But we should not let conflict in one area influence all other aspects of our relations, where we should be guided by the principle of mutual respect. We should be united in perestroika and building of socialism. [As stated in the original.] We can—and must—join our efforts and human yearnings for common human, moral and spiritual values in the quest for peace and common good. We can—and must—foster such unity.

[Solarev] Diocese representatives attended the meeting of the Russian Cultural Center. How do you perceive your role in that organization?

[Archbishop Victorin] Broadly speaking, the Russian Orthodox Church stood at the inception of Russian culture, state, morality and national conscience. It is not an accident that last summer, the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Russia was also the 1,000th anniversary of Russian culture and Russian state. This is why we understand so well the concerns of the Russian Cultural Center. Even though we do not pretend to be the founders of that organization, we are ready to take an active part in its activities. We see our main goal in promoting interest for the part of our cultural and spiritual heritage which is one way or another tied to the church and is not well-known to the general public. We are glad to share our moral values and our 1,000 years of experience.

[Solarev] The new law on freedom of conscience is about to be adopted. What hopes do you have for it? What in your opinion must be reflected in it?

[Archbishop Victorin] The law on freedom of conscience is in my opinion the most important law in a state. It should be adopted after a period of public discussions. In the new law, I would like to see the right of the church to provide religious instruction to its flock; in other words, to set up the so-called Sunday schools for adults and children. Also, it has become necessary to bestow on the church as a whole and on its parishes the status of a legal entity, which they still lack. In general, the new law must take into account the role and the place of the church in the life of today's society.

[Solarev] Since time immemorial, the church has been engaged in charitable work. Currently, charity is banned by certain laws which are of course obsolete. Still, the church contributes to the Soviet Peace Fund and to other funds. If charitable work is allowed, what will the church be able to do? And by the way, do you know how church contributions to those funds are spent or is their use not specified?

[Archbishop Victorin] The law banning such activities contradicts Christian ideology and dogma. Nor is it in line with the spirit of our times. Let us hope that the new law will take all this into account, especially since all this time the church has in effect continued to carry on its charitable work by contributing to the Soviet Peace Fund and to other funds. For instance, the Vilnius and Lithuanian Diocese contributed R40,000 last year to the Lithuanian Cultural Fund and some R12,000 to the Peace Fund. We care, of course, how the contributions of our parishioners are spent. Thus, in connection to the above-mentioned contribution to the Lithuanian Cultural Fund, we received assurances that the money will be spent on repairs in the monastery of the Holy Trinity, which will begin who knows when. In the future, we will care for the sick and aged, as we have done since time immemorial.

[Solarev] And a final question: the situation in the republic in the area of inter-ethnic relations is quite complex. What can, or does, the Orthodox Church do to achieve ethnic harmony? How are your relations with representatives of other denominations?

[Archbishop Victorin] Inter-ethnic relations in the republic are clearly short on tolerance, mutual respect and, above all, Christian love. I recall the wise words of Apostle Paul: "But now, put them all away: anger, wrath, malice, slander and foul talk from your mouth. Do not lie to one another, seeing that you have put off the old nature... and have put on the new nature..., where there cannot be Greek and Jew,... Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all." (Col. 3:8-11) We must also always remember that "God is Love and he who abides in love abides in God, and God abides in him." (1 John, 4:16)

If in their relations people were guided by these words, their relations would be much better. Naturally, the roots of inter-ethnic tensions are not in this alone, but it is here that the church, with its message of mutual love and tolerance, can promote needed ethnic harmony. And it is in the spirit of Christian love that we build our relations with other denominations. We have fraternal relations with the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans, not to mention the Old Believers. As an example of such relations I can cite the fact that we allowed the Lutheran communities in Klaypeda and Shyaulay to conduct their services in our temples.

To conclude our conversation, I would like to mention one more thing. Strange though it may sound, but the youth newspaper KOMYAUNIMO TIYESA tried to sow discord among believers of different denominations. On December 17, 1988, it published an article by A.N. ikzhentaytis titled "Three Orthodox Martyrs of Vilnius". The article claimed without any proof whatsoever that Vilnius martyrs SS. Antoniy, Ioann and Evstafiy poisoned Prince Gediminas. That article was a calumnious attack on things sacred to the Orthodox Church: the relics of the martyrs rest in the cathedral of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit. Immediately after its publication, V.Novinskiy, the secretary of diocese administration, wrote a rebuttal, but the newspaper did not publish it. I then wrote a letter to the editor and to the official in charge of religious affairs. It was posted from our office on January 3, but there have been no results yet. How to describe such actions by the newspaper? In effect, that article was meant to foment distrust, if not other, baser feelings, toward the Orthodox among Catholics. Is this a way to achieve ethnic harmony? I do not think so. We are to live together in this world and therefore we must be more tolerant of one another and to build our common house together.

#### Metropolitan Addresses Students at Moscow Higher Party School

18120069 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 11, 19-26 Mar 89 p 14

[Article by Olga Budarina: "Church Spokesman Addresses Party School"]

[Text] "How do you feel being here at the Moscow Higher Party School?" the students asked Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuryevsk during a meeting.

"I feel perfectly at home," he answered. "Meetings like this cause no surprise any longer. We are of the same blood and are heirs to the same spiritual legacy," the Metropolitan said. "Today both the Party and the Church are concerned about peace, culture and human morality. Thus the scope for our cooperation is really vast."

Metropolitan Pitirim answered the students' questions and spoke about the main activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, which he summed up as "restoring man's dignity in full." The Church intends to pursue this policy not only in prayers and sermons, but in good deeds and concern for the needs of concrete individuals. There are plans to open two rehabilitation centres for men wounded in Afghanistan, employing as nurses girls who would like to marry the ex-soldiers. Also we are planning to restore abandoned houses in the country for the use of families who cannot afford to buy vouchers for holiday centres. Another project is to publish a religious magazine for children by Easter.

The search for innovative activities in the new atmosphere and conditions is a topical subject for both Party organizers and the Russian Orthodox. Perhaps such meetings will lead to a revision of the manual of scientific atheism, which at present is used at the Party School.

#### Believers Publicly Protest Officials' Refusal To Return Church

18120073 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 14, 9-16 Apr 89 p 2

[Article by Alexander Ignatov, APN political analyst: "Ivanovo Authorities Say 'No' to New Religious Communities"]

[Text] Some 150-200 Christians gathered in downtown Ivanovo carrying handwritten posters: "Give us back the church built by our ancestors."

The Vvedenskaya, or the Red Church, in the center of Ivanovo, is tall with five cupolas. In 1936 it was closed and the building was used as the regional archives. With the construction of premises for the archives practically completed, the Red Church is going to be vacated. The news excited the city's believers because the city which once had 28 churches has at the moment only one which is active.

"The Church of the Transfiguration is the only one which is functioning, and has a floor space of only 220 square meters. During holiday services some people faint because of the stuffy air with many people standing at the door." believers complain.

Two groups of people have applied to the city authorities to register new religious communities and to give them back the Vvedenskaya and the Ilyinskaya churches. The interested groups were petitioning between August and November 1988 for things they are entitled to by law. They couldn't get from local authorities what they asked for, however, and took their case to the Council for Religious Affairs in Moscow on numerous occasions and the latter insisted that the authorities in Ivanovo register the religious communities.

The believers, however, were not given the keys to the church. A spokesman of the City Executive Committee told me that the Red Church had to be restored and that the committee was not going to consult the public about the future of the church.

City authorities are fundamentally against handing over the Vvedenskaya Church to believers. "We aren't going to give you this 'piece of ideological clout,'" the committee's head told the delegates of the community.

On return to Moscow I called the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers, and discovered that similar things are still happening in other places. This despite the fact that one year after Mikhail

Gorbachev's meeting with the Orthodox Church heads more than 1,600 new religious communities have been registered, most of them Orthodox. In most cases they have already been handed over places of worship.

**New Central Asian Muslim Chairman on Church-State Relationship**  
*18300521 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
22 Mar 89 p 4*

[Interview with Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov, chairman of the presidium of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan [SADUM], by A. Khatamov and S. Sadykov, PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondents: "The Charity of Muslims", date and place not specified]

[Text] In Tashkent the 4th Congress [kurultay] of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was concluded, at which Mukhammadsadyk Mamayusupov was elected chairman of the presidium of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan [SADUM]. Our correspondents, A. Khatamov and S. Sadykov, talk with him.

[Correspondent] Several days ago, you started to carry out your responsibilities and for this reason, esteemed mufti, above all, tell us a little about yourself.

[Mamayusupov] I am 37 years old, I grew up in a family of a religious servant in Andizhan Oblast. I learned the Arabic written language from my father. After secondary school, I completed the Bukhara Madrasa [Religious School] Mir Arab and the Higher Islamic Institute in Tashkent. Then I worked for the journal MUSULMANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA. In 1980 I was graduated from the Islamic University in Libya. Later I worked in the Department of International Relations of the Spiritual Administration; at the 3rd Congress of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan I was elected deputy rector, and later rector, of the Higher Islamic Institute.

The Muslims have extended to me the highest confidence, having elected me chairman of the presidium of the Spiritual Administration. On me has lain enormous responsibility to the Muslim people.

[Correspondent] What are the present-day plans and plans for the future in the sphere of domestic religious and foreign peacemaking activity of the Spiritual Administration that is being directed by you?

[Mamayusupov] First of all, we intend to use for the good of believing Muslims everything new that perestroika has given in our country, the restoration of Leninist principles in the relations between state and religion. This concerns the satisfaction of the religious and spiritual needs of Muslims. Lately alone, dozens of mosques have been opened in the republics of our region.

We think that this process will be continued. We will have to increase the training of priests, to carry out the restoration of old mosques, and to maintain them in the proper condition. We are planning to increase the level of knowledge of the imams and to extend assistance to them in the Friday and other sermons. A great deal will have to be done in the publishing field. At present the Muslim theologians are experiencing a great need for theoretical literature. In the near future, we are thinking of republishing the Holy Koran, we hope to obtain a certain quantity of Korans as gifts from foreign Muslims.

Within our purview is also the improvement of the content of the journal MUSULMANE SOVETSKOGO VOSTOKA, the increase of the level of its publications, and the expansion of the information of believers. We want to tell more about the religious life of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The preparation for publication of a number of religious books has begun, whose publication will become an outstanding event in religious life and will be of good use in the field of education.

Today there is a decision on the construction of new buildings for religious educational institutions in Bukhara, Tashkent, and about the expansion of their student contingent. All of this, in combination with the higher level of instruction, will yield appreciable results in the training of cadres of priests.

A great deal of work lies ahead in public life among the Muslim part of the population. Today the minds of people, regardless of religious denomination, concern themselves with a multitude of topical problems. Among them are inter-nationality relations, environmental protection, the increase of the well-being of the people, the improvement of the conditions of the life of women, and concern for children who have remained without guardianship. We intend to take part on a broad basis in all charitable undertakings. The Spiritual Administration, for example, has taken part in the Children's Fund since the day of its establishment, extending material assistance within its powers. Our mosques also transfer money and give equipment to children's homes. You see, charity is the basis of our religion.

We are also taking part in the activity of the Soviet Cultural Fund. In so doing, we do not limit ourselves only to the making of money contributions. Architectural monuments have been and are being returned to us, and our task is to restore them fundamentally and to give them their primordial appearance. In this manner we will be able to pass on the inheritance of our forefathers to their descendants. We are planning a search for ancient manuscripts. A great deal of work lies ahead in regard to their collection, restoration, study, and preservation. All of this, in our view, is also a contribution to the protection and augmentation of the cultural fund of the people.

The struggle for peace was, is, and will be one of the basic facets of our activity. We conceive it not only as the struggle for the non-admission of war, but as constant work in the name of the peaceful, creative existence of society, peace in every state, agreement in every family, and calm in the soul of every person. We will attain the goal we have set through the exchange of delegations with the countries of the Islamic world, the exchange of religious and socio-political literature, and participation in various forums. In the following year, in 1990, will be the 1200 the anniversary of the birth of the outstanding theologian, our compatriot Abu Isa-at-Termezi. The festivities that we will hold on this occasion will be an important event in religious life. Numerous foreign guests will be invited to take part in them. We hope that these events will also serve the cause of strengthening peace and mutual understanding among peoples.

[Correspondent] It is well known that the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan [SADUM], along with an active struggle for peace, is taking part in the liberation of Soviet soldiers who have been taken prisoner in Afghanistan....

[Mamayusupov] The Muslim faith is against the mockery of a man, against force. It has always called for and it calls for mercy. But war is war, and thus there are prisoners. Our Spiritual Administration strives toward there being no slaves anywhere, in anyone's hands. We cannot be tranquil when compatriots of ours languish in captivity. We strive to make their lot easier, we are exerting every effort to bring about their earliest possible return home. We have turned with corresponding requests and inquiries both to private persons abroad and to statesmen and diplomats. Up to now our attempts have yielded few results. But we are not losing hope, and in the future we will increase our efforts in this direction, get in touch with Islamic organizations, the leaders of Islamic states, foreign embassies, and ask them assist in the liberation of our compatriots.

[Correspondent] Fundamental changes are taking place in the relations between the state and religious organizations. Could you not show this on the basis of concrete examples?

[Mamayusupov] Yes, these relations are undergoing fundamental changes. To take the last congress of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Previously, only its organizers and participants knew about such a large forum. Now it is quite a different matter—the congress was elucidated in the world press and on television. One cannot but note the large amount of work which was done by Soviet organizations. In a short time, the buildings of the madrasa of Barak-khan, the Tillya-sheykh Mosque, were repaired, the adjacent territory

was equipped with modern conveniences, and public order was maintained during the holding of the congress. The return of the Koran of Caliph Osman, created in the 7th century and kept in the Museum of the History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan imeni Aybek, to the Muslims became a great event. This is a joy not only for the Muslims of the Soviet Union, but also for the followers of Islam throughout the world, for this copy of the Koran was written with the direct participation of the associate of the last prophet, the most holy Mohammed. All editions of the holy book that are available in the world are copies of this relic.

The return of the Koran of Caliph Osman is a striking confirmation of the improvement of the relations between the state and religious organizations. This event, like a piece of good news, spread all over the world, we are receiving letters from various countries of the world from Muslims, who want to come to us in order to only touch the sacred object of Islam.

The government of Uzbekistan also decided to transfer to the Spiritual Administration a number of religious buildings. Among them is the Abu Isa-at-Termezi Mausoleum in Sherabadskiy Rayon, the complex of the Bakhautdin Mausoleum and Mosque in Kaganskiy Rayon, the Kalyan Mosque in Bukhara, and the Dzhami Mosque in Kokand. It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the steps undertaken by the government. They have found an echo in the soul of every Muslim. This gives us new strength in our endeavors in the name of the prosperity of the people, in the name of good, mercy, and the blessing of every layman.

[Correspondent] What would you like to wish our readers?

[Mamayusupov] Making use of the opportunity granted to me, I want to say the following. A renewal is confidently under way in our country, a time of purification has set in. Our duty, the duty of mortal people, and of all peoples is to do good for one another, to live in peace and agreement.

All people are equal before the future, before conscience, before one another, regardless of nationality or religion. Believers will not admit any difference in our multinational, hard-working family of peoples of the Soviet country.

And still another thing. I read PRAVDA VOSTOKA every day. Recently it has become more interesting, it publishes many articles which the people need. I do not agree with all the ideas, but, nevertheless, I consider the paper very popular in Uzbekistan, necessary also to us, servants of religion.

**Roundtable on Video Cooperative Controversy**  
*18000716a Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Mar 89 p 4*

[Materials prepared by G. Simanovich under the rubric "SOVETSKAYA KULTURA Roundtable": "Competitors, Where Are You?"]

[Text] The immediate reason for the roundtable meeting was the Decree of the USSR Council of Ministers of 29 December 1988. This prohibited certain types of cooperative activities, in particular those related to video filmmaking. There can be no doubt as to the necessity of carrying this out. But at the same time the reaction to the decree has varied and the press has come out with critical comments about this document. Soon after its publishing there was a discussion which touched upon a broad range of "video problems." However, during the preparing of these materials, a hitch arose: the leadership of the video film VPTO [All-Union Production-Creative Association] felt it impossible to publish the statements of co-workers from this association who had participated in the conversation. But we felt that without the participation of a representative from the head state video organization, it would be incorrect and shortsighted to discuss such problems. Ultimately a compromise was found satisfying both sides: video film would submit its text which we are printing with insignificant abridgments. Hence, here are the opinions on these problems.

**Work Done, Work to Come**

The video film VPTO is the head enterprise in the system of the USSR Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography] set up for resolving the entire range of problems related to the development of video in our country. We produce feature, documentary, musical and animated films as well as programs involving the recording of theatrical performances. Among the programs filmed at our studios using our equipment and put out in our cassettes are: "Musical Olympus I and II," "From Italy to Russia With Love," "Dream of Russia," "Take Us As We Are," "Alisa," "The Thaw," "And a Stone Has a Heart," as well as several Leningrad rock concerts and theatrical performances of "The Zoykin Apartment," and "Birthday."

We recently completed filming the first feature film "Five Corners" completely filmed by the video method, the Pilot Studio is completing its first animated film and there are 50 other films and programs in production.

Under the orders of the VPTO, films already known to the viewer have been made: "Risk Group," "How to Become a Star," "Rock," "Two Hours With Bards" and many others. Soon the screens will be showing "The Dreamer" by the director V. Bunin and "Save and Keep" of A. Sokurov.

This year, Video Film will turn out on the order of 70 hours of programs and by 1995, this number will reach 900 hours a year.

More than 10 hours of commercial-type documentary programs have been created, and among these we must mention the video film "Image of the Soviet Woman" assigned for showing in the United States by the TV company Turner Broadcasting System, a documentary video tape devoted to the tragic events in Armenia has been filmed and edited together with the Japanese NHK Company and musical programs have been filmed about S. Rachmaninov and tours by American companies in the USSR. The Arbat Video Screening Room is successfully showing the film "Red Policeman" by the American Carolco Company and for which Video Film provided services in filming.

In April of this year, the association will offer its finest products at the television and video program market in Cannes and the newspaper IZVESTIYA has written in detail about this.

The organization of video rentals in our nation is determined by a whole series of circumstances. The most essential of them is that the nation has very few individual home tape recorders. For this reason for now we have been forced predominantly to rent for collective forms of video viewing.

Here it is important to point out that the various regions of our country have an extremely uneven saturation with cultural facilities. The nation has around 2,000 cities and urban-type settlements where there are no movie theaters and for many people the video can become the main opportunity for seeing new films, performances, concert and touring programs.

At present, the Video Film VPTO has purchased a thousand video projection units for organizing video viewing auditoriums in various regions of the nation.

The economic mechanism in this area has been organized in the following manner: the Video Film VPTO rents its projection units and receives an established fee. Let us emphasize that we do not receive any income from the rental of films for these units.

In the area of organizing video rentals, the association has followed the path of collaborating with the broadest range of diverse state and public organizations. Our partners are the republic video centers, the movie and video associations, the ministries, Komsomol and trade union organizations. Last year we collaborated with a number of cooperative organizations but now their activities have been banned by the Decree of the Council of Ministers of 29 December 1988.

In our view, the main reason for the banning of the video cooperatives was their "pirating" activities.

"Video piracy," that is, the commercial use of video films and programs without purchasing the rights, is a phenomenon which has long been combated throughout

the world. In a majority of nations those who violate the law are punished by large fines, by the confiscating of the video equipment and sometimes even by prison terms.

Our domestic legislation is flawed and at present, when the USSR is endeavoring to enter the international scene as a state of law, undoubtedly we must achieve a conformity of domestic legal standards to the standards of international law.

The absence of economic and legal regulation in the video sphere has led to a situation where recently "video piracy" in our nation has assumed the nature of an organized system. This system possesses its own press (the journal KULTURNO-PROSVETITELNAYA RABOTA), its own economy which brings gigantic superprofits, its own legal defense which in practical terms is provided by the VAAP [All-Union Agency for Patent Law].

We feel that the video sphere should be regulated not by bans but rather by legal and economic standards but in the existing situation the decisive measures have been essential and, moreover, they are as necessary as before.

By the end of 1988, the VPTO held the rights to 204 programs and these included films produced by the Video Film studios, films and programs made upon the orders of the association at other studios in the nation as well as films the rental licenses for which were acquired abroad. The rental licenses for these films were offered by us at the first all-Union video market. The prices for the products were determined by a contract between the buyer and seller and basically depended upon the number of video viewing auditoriums and the number of seats in them for each specific region. In holding subsequent video markets we will take into account all the complaints and comments received by us about its organization.

We feel it essential to emphasize that at present the Komsomol, the AUCCTU, the consumer services, the industrial ministries and the Ministry of Culture are taking an active part in the founding and development of video. There can be no question of any monopoly in the video sphere. Clearly the video sphere in principle is pluralistic and precisely this is the source of its development.

*USSR Goskino Video Film VPTO*

**Should There Be No Appeal?**

**L. Lebedev, Chairman of the Sintez Video Cooperative.** Our cooperative over an 18-month period has filmed 180 hours of video material. Our pride is video theatrical performances. Incidentally, their cost has been 4- or 5-fold less than for the Video Film VPTO. But the quality.... You trust Nekroshyus, I hope? This outstanding director has let no one come close with a video camera to his performances. He saw our work on the Lenkomov "Dictatorship of Conscience" and immediately said "yes." After the debut, he agreed to the filming of another three of his stagings. Or our original music

program "Fireworks" with the participation of "stars"—the selections of it have been seen frequently by you on television on the most popular broadcasts. Forgive us for speaking in detail about our activities....

**G. Simanovich, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent.** Did you make a profit? Did you have losses?

**L. Lebedev.** The profit is not only in rubles. There were contracts with foreign clients. The bank account began to fill up with foreign exchange. The state received a major portion while the other came to us for buying imported video equipment. Who suffered from this? I have no doubt that the decree will frighten off foreign partners from collaborating with the cooperatives and not only the designated ones. They have already been frightened off. Recently I learned of the response of a major video maker: he abandoned his plan to work with our video organizations. You ask about losses. Of course, they were very great. And even more for our clients. Incidentally, as far as I know, abroad in such instances the state provides some compensation....

**V. Nayshuller, chairman of the Konkord Video Cooperative.** I understand Lebedev and I sympathize. Materially, we have suffered less, and Konkord has other spheres of endeavor. But just look how things have "taken off" for us. Together with the USSR Philosophical Society, we have planned to make a series of video cassettes on political training and party education. With the journal SOTSIALISTICHESKIY TRUD, a series "The Economics of Perestroyka," and a course for managers. The journal has already published an ad. SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in mid-October published a comment "Who Can Help?" The famous Dutch dancer Felixdal arrived and gave lessons in the GITIS [State Institute for Theatrical Art]. The next day we were already filming him. We concluded a contract, made a cassette, and prepared a series together with the magazine KLUB. Presently, neither we nor our partners know what to reply to those who issued the orders.

**L. Lebedev.** I envy those cooperatives which can turn things out like a production line: their activities might be likened to ammunition production....

**A. Sidorenko, secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the USSR Goskino.** As soon as I had read the point about video, I could imagine the response on the spot in terms of the youth self-financing video centers. How right I was. They began to close them down. Both those under the Komsomol raykoms and gorkoms, both the rental and producing. But they are not cooperatives. The decree should not extend to them. We are sending out an explanatory letter. We are hopeful that we will be able to defend ourselves. Certainly we have an extensive rental video network with hundreds upon hundreds of units.

**G. Ugolkov, deputy chief of the Moscow Center for Maintenance and Rental of Video Tape Recorders.** The Ministry of Electronics Industry has made an experiment. For paid viewing it has distributed many video tape recorders made in our plants to the enterprises themselves on credit. In order to organize things more economically and effectively and in order to have more people watching films and fewer servicing them, we invited the cooperatives to collaborate. The results have been outstanding. Now we must bank on this.

Moreover, the cooperatives had set to developing, and they succeeded here, a very advanced projecting television set when it became clear that the purchased Japanese equipment was beginning to break down and Goskino refused to purchase domestic. A cooperative was found which was ready to begin developing production. Now an end has been put to this initiative. I feel that in this area the decree does harm both to the cooperative movement and to the state.

**V. Gorev, candidate of philosophical sciences and candidate of art history.** When the ukase came out on combating alcohol, in the Crimea they hurriedly cut down hundreds of hectares of vineyards and even the top quality ones. They did not merely cut them down but even asphalted over the area. Something similar is happening today in the video sphere. The cooperatives are not merely being prohibited from engaging in video production and rentals, but prohibitive instructions have already been issued on the spot. Except for the system of state video rentals, the Komsomol, the trade unions and everyone else is prohibited. The asphalt is being prepared.

We already have experience not only in adopting such decrees but also repealing them. What will the response be to such a ban? We have seen this repeatedly already: the cooperatives merely change the status of the legal entity and come to call themselves, for instance, Komsomol self-financing brigades. So if they wanted a complete ban this is scarcely effectively. On the other hand, even now one can predict the negative effect. I feel that prices will rise sharply on the video cassette "black market," speculation will rise, and video filmmakers who make underground home movies—sometimes pornographic—will become more active and raise the fee. Eventually they will pick up a portion of those viewers who previously went to the cooperative viewing room. We have gone through all of this. Certainly there are rental cooperatives which operate at prices below the state ones. For example, in Voronezh in the Brno Hotel, a showing is 30 kopecks.

**G. Simanovich.** I assume that the Video Film VPTO is merely lamenting the disappearance of competitors?

**V. Nayshuller.** As far as I know, the VPTO was involved in the draft decree and provided the grounds for this. As a result, the video cooperatives were mentioned precisely in the first, prohibitive part.

**G. Simanovich.** According to our information, the VPTO did not propose a ban, but the situation was viewed as extraordinary: the Western movie and video products were being rented on a pirated basis. Is that right?

**L. Lebedev.** Just a minute, a predominant majority of the video showing rooms belonged to Video Film itself, the Komsomol Central Committee and the AUCCTU. Why did the decree concern only, as you put it, the "co-op pirates"? It is a pity that the newspaper did not act sooner.

**G. Simanovich.** The newspaper was not made aware, as were all those present. There is a lawyer here. Did you know about it, Andrey Semenovich?

**A. Tarasov, member of the Moscow Municipal Lawyers Collegium.** I did not. But it was not hard to assume something of the sort. The 54th Article of the Law on Cooperatives is a lever for manipulating what is chiefly in the law. In which a sublegal act gains the upper hand over the law. The decree pursues exclusively the interests of the departments. Why bother discovering a cooperative which has violated the law and apply sanctions against it under the law? Why compete? It is a lot of trouble. It is easier to close them down.

We are confronted with an ideological decree. Activities have been banned or restricted in the sphere of film, the theater, concerts, lectures and book publishing. Thus, again they are controlling what we can read, see and hear.

**A. Lipkov, candidate of art history.** In disregarding all of the details which have been taken up here, we are discussing things that are broader, namely in what sort of state we want to live. I feel that both the viewers and the spectators of the video viewing theaters, including the cooperative ones, want to live in a state of law. The VPTO is intimidating us by a state of emergency. These are familiar fears. Recently a well-known writer intimidated us with the fact that an emergency situation had arisen in literature. But at present literature is being read as never before, and primarily Soviet. Hence, possibly, the reader erred and there was no "second Stalingrad." But do I feel that possibly an emergency situation in the video area is also one of the same myths? The state position, it seems to me, should presently consist in the greatest possible development of culture, including video, and in the greatest possible development of democracy. Our current slogan is the more democracy, the more socialism. There is less democracy and less socialism as a result of this decree. Because if it is possible to cancel the permission given by the Supreme Soviet with the stroke of a pen, then certainly this is not a normal situation.

#### Putting in a Word About a Poor "Pirate"...

**G. Simanovich.** The term "video piracy" has run through our discussion. Both the cooperative and the state video viewing theaters constantly "operate" with viewings

which show films not acquired for rental in the USSR. I am not speaking about the hundreds of thousands of cassettes with such films in the homes of video owners. The Video Film VPTO is sounding the alarm. Goskino as well. What do the law and international law have to say on this score?

**A. Morozov, journalist (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA).** Recently I held a major interview with the chief of the Contractual Law Directorate of the VAAp, M.A. Voronkova. Here is what she, in particular, stated: "In Article 104 of the Principles of Civil Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, Point 2 states that 'it is permitted to use a work without the agreement of an author but with the indicating of his name and the paying of the author's remuneration.' This also includes 'recording in the aims of the public reproduction or dissemination of works produced on film, disk, magnetic tape or any other device....' By 'any other device,' as you yourselves realize, one could certainly understand a video device. Thus, in accord with current Soviet legislation, the agreement of directors is not required for the reproducing of films. It is a different question whether this is good or bad. It has been decided differently in various countries. And this is how in ours. For this reason here we do not have the right to speak about video piracy."

**G. Simanovich.** But the video renters must pay. But they do not pay. Neither in foreign exchange for those nor in rubles for our authors. This is unacceptable. With good reason such a prominent filmmaker as Roy Disney, in visiting our country, caused a scandal in seeing how laxly the Disney films and images were exploited. Here I personally am on the side of Video Film which was indignant over such laxness of the cooperative members. However the actions of the respected VPTO itself differ little from the actions of their unofficial colleagues with the same unpaid video films in the state viewing theaters and the same mass transfer of the films of Soviet directors to video cassettes without corresponding compensation. A slippery situation develops. In truth, some time ago, it seems to me, a decision was made to pay the Soviet authors. I was recently in Kazakhstan and spoke with renters and filmmakers on the situation in the video viewing theaters of Chimkent and Alma-Ata. The conclusion was unanimous: in a predominant majority of instances, neither the state, the Komsomol, the trade union, nor the (now no longer) cooperative video rentals are able to operate normally and profitably without Western commercial video products. These are "mangled" by both rights and wrongs. The situation is typical for the nation as a whole. Is there an alternative? Are we planning on the state level? In my opinion, we have been working on this for 4 years now.

#### An Alternative

**A. Morozov.** Video Film abundantly lists the films and programs created by it. Where are they? I prepared an article on the situation in the sphere of ideological studies. The party office has video equipment but nothing to show. To my request, Video Film replied: go to the

arbat and there you will find it. There I saw films about Mar Zhukov, Konev and others. But all with the mark of the TsSDF [Central Documentary Film Studio] and Tsentrnauchfilm [Central Scientific Film]. There was nothing original, nothing about the concerns of today or about the processes of perestroyka.

**G. Simanovich.** Let us be objective: the risk group, for example...

**A. Morozov.** This was made at the TsSDF and transferred to video cassette.

**Reply from the floor.** It was filmed by the video method but the entire Central Television films with the video method....

**A. Morozov.** Why did Sintez and not Video Film film the vital current affairs video appendix to the journal OGONEK? Certainly there was the Churbanov trial and others. Clearly this was of interest to all. But did Video Film film it?

**Reply from the floor.** Why do you think that it was their task?

**A. Morozov.** But it is interesting for the people.... With the departure of the video cooperatives as producers, the mass of all that is interesting and which they could film remains outside the viewer's sphere of attention.

**V. Borev.** It seems to me that at present the head state organization for video simply is not justifying its existence, although it has a good staff, fine quarters and enviable millions in foreign exchange to buy equipment. Alas, this equipment is standing idle. The material return is minuscule. The association merely exchanges orders with such studios as Kazakhfilm [Kazakh Film] or Lenfilm [Leningrad Film], it obtains uninteresting pictures and rents them in the viewing theaters. Here there are infinite assurances that, supposedly, a new era will dawn tomorrow. Formerly, the format was different; now everything is being talked over, but should they film on cassettes if Japan is going to convert to laser disks. There is no work, no effect. On the other hand, there is departmental ambitiousness, a thirst (not in words but in deed) for monopoly and impractical schemes.

Not long ago there was a conference in Voronezh on video problems. It was conducted by the AUCCTU. There an enormous number of angry persons from various regions—from Riga, from Siberia and from Kazakhstan—described in what, from their viewpoint, a disorganized manner the video market was held recently in Moscow, where the VPTO in a single package sold 30 supposedly new programs and 120 old and long unnecessary video films. This package was not unsealed. The persons often were not shown what they were buying. They even purchased products which still do not exist or which the VPTO has still not purchased or created. Here the prices were gigantic. These prices were squeezed out

by the market monopoly which the Video Film VPTO presently is. And certainly there is a market trade not only in the films but also the right to lease video units which, according to recent information, can be had not for 20,000 but rather 80,000 rubles.

How can we understand the ad of the Video Film VPTO on the pages of the respected SOVETSKAYA KULTURA and printed at the end of last year? There is a list of films from the 1988 catalog. The eye runs down the list. We had to take something in one way or the other. There were no films.

But then, let us assume, tomorrow the VPTO will purchase the right to a package of films from foreign authors. And these will be sold on the domestic market at crazy prices. Just like a monopoly. The cooperatives have been eliminated. Here all sorts of announcements are constantly sent out, "information from the center" is skillfully provided but as a result of all of this on the spot the conviction is formed that we are permitted to see only what has been made or bought by Video Film.

In the context of these and other facts, I again reflect on how hasty has been the blow against the video cooperatives which have been able quickly, with minimum funds and by drawing on the energy and dedication of a few co-workers, to get started on what Video Film is still merely dreaming about.

**A. Sidorenko.** I can assure you that in the near future there will be no question of any monopoly by Video Film. In addition to the state Video Film VPTO, the appropriate structures will be organized under the Komsomol Central Committee and under the AUCCTU. Let us remember that in December, the Society of Friends of the Soviet Cinematographer was established and this will be concerned with club viewings. The four organizations are certainly no longer a monopoly.

**Soviet Writers Defend Rushdie**  
18120068a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 11, 19-26 Mar 89 p 4

[Letter: "Stay The Black Arrow!"]

[Text] We believe in respecting all religions, including Islam. The great scriptures like the Bible, the Koran and the Talmud constitute humanity's common spiritual heritage. At the same time every individual has the right to not to believe, provided his atheism does not offend believers. We flatly condemn offenses to other people's beliefs as a violation of their right to think independently, unconditioned by gregarious instinct.

Nor do we have the moral right to let people be killed before our eyes for making imprudent or unwittingly offensive remarks about religion. No religion can be cruel or regard itself as the truth of the last instance entitled to spell a person's life or death.

None of us has read Salman Rushdie's "*The Satanic Verses*." Perhaps, it did offend believers in Islam. But have mercy on him! Especially since he asked all Moslems for pardon. Isn't his plea for mercy a reason enough for forgiveness? We believe that showing mercy and repealing his death sentence would be perfectly in line with Christ's and Mohammed's teachings.

Withdraw the money set on his head, because this money may drive people to murder. Stay the black arrow in mid-air! May it go into the earth and send up green shoots.

[Signed] Academician R. Sagdeev, Members of the Union of Soviet Writers: A. Bitov, A. Vainer, I. Vinogradov, Ye. Yevtushenko, K. Ikramov, B. Okudzhava, L. Smirnov, D. Sukharev, N. Eidelman; I. Dashevsky, D.Sc. (Medicine), A. Sakharova, Cand Sc. (Biology), artist B. Birger, journalist L. Grafov.

**Writer Iskander on Roots of Stalin Cult**  
18120068b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 11, 19-26 Mar 89 p 16

[Interview with Fazil Iskander by Yelena Vesylaya: "If We Stop, We'll Be Thrown Back"]

[Text] Fazil Iskander has always had many readers. But in the last three years we seem to have discovered him anew. He published manuscripts that had remained in his desk drawer for years, such as "*Rabbits and Boa Constrictors*" and "*The Old House Beneath the Cypress*." The Moskovsky Rabochy Publishers are about to put out the full text of his novel "*Sandro from Cheghem*" in three volumes, including the previously unpublished chapters. The writer says the publication of "*Sandro*" is the most important literary event for him, because the novel incorporates his major ideas, concerns and worries. "In general," Iskander said, "the time of publication had come."

[Vesylaya] But you can hear people say that manuscripts fished out of desk drawers are out of date.

[Iskander] I don't dare speak about everything that has come from desk drawers because I'm not too diligent a reader. There are works all of us regard as major achievements of national literature, for example, Vasily Grossman's epic or Yuri Dombrovsky's novel. Not only are they not out of date; a really good work of art gets better with time, like vintage wine. It is sad these books were not published then. But true talent can see into the future and thus never become obsolete. Of course, there are certain works written in the past that could not be published because of their political sting, though objectively they were rather superficial. Brought out now, they appear weak. Of course we respect their authors for civic courage, but if a book has little artistic merit, it is sure to be soon forgotten.

[Vesylaya] It is often said that our national tragedy has been talked about too much, with almost everyone trying to "kick" Stalin because that is in vogue and a sure way to get into print. As a result, the topic is getting stale and is no longer exciting, as psychologists have noticed.

[Iskander] That is partly true. But such talk also smacks of the familiar tendency to control the nation's mentality from above. There are objective market rules that cover literary works, too. Their market value is determined by what I would call the mystery of human interest. It is the market that will tell us when the Stalin theme ceases to be of interest to the reader.

I think, however, that it will never lose interest if every attempt at understanding that man's personality and historic role will bring us something new. At a certain point in time (which seems to have already arrived) mediocre and banal compositions on the subject might cease drawing the intelligent reader's attention. But we should go onwards rather than have someone on top switch on and off the flow of publications, thus returning to the old and ridiculous practice of controlling culture. Incidentally, those orders usually belong to people who in general disapprove of our literature's critical fervor.

It is no more than two or three years since works exposing Stalin, his entourage, and the many terrifying phenomena of our life have come to light, but there are already voices saying, "Enough, we are sick and tired of it!" What about those forty years that we spent reiterating praises and glorifying that luminary of all sciences? Didn't anyone feel like saying "Enough!" then?

I think many did want to say that, but nobody dared... Almost every book of poetry began with an ode to the Great Leader. Lots of novels ended happily in Stalin approving, Stalin nodding his assent, Stalin smiling, Stalin applauding, or Stalin rescuing a brilliant inventor from a dull bureaucrat. All this imperial rubbish was preached for years. It is natural, therefore, that many find the present changes not quite for their liking.

[Vesylaya] It is a curious topic: Stalinism with Stalin.

[Iskander] For the "nomenklatura" in the broad sense of the word, it is a great temptation to try and consolidate Stalinism in our life, all the while knowing that they cannot disappear without trace at any moment, as happened under Stalin. Stalin gave his "apparat" every privilege except one: to sleep peacefully and plan their lives for years ahead. They wielded great power knowing that at any moment any one of them might vanish. Now they know they are safe and will not vanish, so they want to keep their power and authority in the bargain. Very convenient, isn't it?

For a certain psychological type that's a great temptation, too. Say, a shoemaker displays a portrait of Stalin on the wall of his shop. This man knows that Stalin was born very low and came to rule half the world. Stalin to

him is the personification of his own cherished dream. His love and worship of Stalin is to him like the saving bond or lottery ticket he buys, knowing there is little chance of his winning an automobile. But it gives him pleasure simply to own the bond. For many, Stalin is such a bond, the psychological means of self-assertion. Why don't they display Lenin's or Marx' portraits, I wonder? Why only Stalin's? They sense psychological kinship there—the same suppressed desire to suppress others. This type occurs especially often among people whose profession is to wait on others. They hate having to constantly wait on others....

[Vesylaya] A lackey's complex.

[Iskander] Yes, and it is not all that easy to get rid of it.

[Vesylaya] Do you imply that the cult is predetermined by a certain professional mentality? Yet there is an opinion that its origin lies in a national mentality.

[Iskander] Of course, after the 300-year Romanov dynasty fell, certain illusions and a popular belief in the czar remained. But didn't Hitler come to power in Germany, Mussolini in Italy and Franco in Spain?

I think all these phenomena have one thing in common: the emergence on the political arena of enormous masses of people who were barely literate, very ambitious and for the most part morally undeveloped.

This type was discovered and brilliantly exposed by Dostoyevsky. He called them "people from the underground". They created their own leaders, also a type. At that time the world objectively demanded change. Vast numbers of people in Russia and in the West sensed that something had come to an end. At a time like this, dictatorship and all sorts of imposture and deformations were possible. The emergence en masse on the political arena of highly ambitious and barely literate people certainly contributed to that.

[Vesylaya] Do you think political involvement harmed those people, corrupted them?

[Iskander] The ethical type of behavior evolves over time. Say, a peasant's—in rural surroundings, an urban craftsman's—in urban surroundings. When they were abused they revolted, went on strike, but never, not even in their wildest dreams, did they aspire to rule the country. The transition from their own age-long ethical stereotypes to the ethics of a cultured individual who has to make his own decisions independently rather than rely on a collective ethic proved very painful, especially for people inwardly unprepared to shoulder responsibility. The spreading of this semiculture among the broad masses paved the way for everything that happened.

One can imagine a situation where, say, Mozart is killed and Salieri takes his role, but another, a lesser "Salieri" will turn up to kill him. This is a kind of historical "dialectic".

[Vesylaya] In retrospect, what do you make a Plekhanov's warning that the Russian proletariat was not socially mature enough to take power and ought not to have done so?

[Iskander] I don't think Plekhanov was far wrong when he predicted that the country would be ruled on behalf of the proletariat by somebody else. That is exactly what happened.

Lenin showed fantastic flexibility when he realized that, in the course of the Revolution, the introduction of NEP was an extremely bold step designed to give Russian society a chance to mature and ripen. Personally I think that, under the Party's control, it would have successfully done just that.

No doubt, the Party should have given up much of its power and retained control only over the most important issues. I believe this could have been worked out. But psychological factors, complex and difficult to explain, came into play at that very time. Just imagine the Bolsheviks who had been constantly persecuted and in hiding got suddenly all that power. They felt so euphoric that they seemed to forget what they had taken the power for.

When I think about the disputes of the 1920s, I find only Bukharin's slogan "Get rich!" noble and realistic. He said it was too early to begin collectivization. But he lacked firmness, and by then it was too late anyway. As is apparent from Lenin's "will", Stalin enjoyed unlimited power even before Lenin's death.

[Vesylaya] A dangerous euphoria threatened us at the early stage of perestroika, too. Now it seems to have given way to greater realism in the assessment of events. For example, we now talk less of "acceleration".

[Iskander] By the way, I disapproved of that particular slogan from the very start. Acceleration has been the motto of the day since the 1920s. But in fact no one must be hurried—ever. I have always believed that socialist emulation discredited the state socially and economically. The state must never take steps that can evoke and ironic attitude among its citizens. Every state should strive to achieve authority through wisdom and an understanding of the nature of things. The slogans of socialist emulation can work at a crucial moment, for instance, after the war, when the people are called upon to make an all-out effort. But after a year or two life must go back to its normal pace. Workers must never be driven to show heroism every day, because this inevitably ends up in everyday drinking, depression and deception.

I prefer the words "renovation" or "revival". Our new revolutionary times, as we call them, must renew the human being, renew hopes.

[Vesylaya] What do you pin your hopes on? What worries you?

[Iskander] I'm worried about the centrifugal forces that have emerged in our multinational state, and the irritation and impatience that accompany them. Perestroika began at a time when the nation was in a very bad moral condition, in a state of sheer nervous exhaustion. Things got out of control and the nationalities question grew out of all proportion, like a malignant tumor.

Nevertheless, I still hope that the future of the new democratic Russia lies in the union of all our nations. To achieve this, Moscow must become the center from which the most interesting ideas and philosophical concepts emanate. In other words, it must become the spiritual and not merely the administrative center of the country. It must not be just the source of primitive instructions, whose authority depends solely on administrative threats.

A vast multinational country like ours cannot rely on that. It can be held together by the power of ideas produced by the center. Besides, the center must show the whole country and all its nations the significance of law, its universality, on the one hand, and its absolute severity, on the other. Every citizen must see that the severity of the law is justified in every particular case. In other words, we must eventually come to a state committed to the rule of law, not of individuals, whether good or bad. We must understand that there's something more powerful than us. It's the law. At present, millions of people do not believe in the law, they believe in their superiors.

Strong, honest, principles thinkers,—such as, say, Academicians Sakharov and Likhachev—must join in the country's leadership in the near future. People of that type are duty bound to be there. In the case of their disapproval of this or that government action, they must have the opportunity to address the people. This would help the leadership to avoid grave errors. Unfortunately, our history is full of errors, because there has never been any feedback, any consultation with the people, and the government did what seemed the most advantageous at the moment.

There is yet another problem that is much talked about. It is high time that all necessary means are found to provide the people with enough to eat—immediately. At any rate, a certain acceptable level must be achieved at all costs, even if we have to borrow the money. You cannot go on for 70 years giving nothing but promises.

Finally, we must not slow down the pace of glasnost. If we stop, the current will throw us back.

**Film Lampoons Komsomol**

18120075 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 13, 2-9 Apr 89 p 11

[Article by Yergeny Yevtushenko under the "Off Screen" rubric: "A Film Catastrophe?"]

[Text] Dealing with the problems of Komsomol, Sergei Senezhkin's film "An Emergency on a District Scale", made at the Lenfilm Studio and based on Yuri Polyakov's story, has actually been taken up as an emergency. Not so much by film makers as...by its own characters.

I saw this film the same day I saw "Zerograd", in which Karen Shakhnazarov managed to combine the tragic absurdities of our reality into one tragic irony. As far as I know, there have also been attempts to use the same yardsticks of "ironical surrealism" in approaching Senezhkin's film as well. Those who reproach him for "overdoing things", for staging a vaudeville in the nature of a lampoon, are doing this out of "fear of the mirror". I dare say the picture has been painted from nature, and that its main character was based on a real Komsomol bureaucrat. Therein lies the film's real aid to the Komsomol in clearing its ranks of the "rosy-cheeked leaders", about whom I once wrote in my "Letter to Yesenin".

I must admit that the publicistic emphasis of the film occasionally impairs its artistic merits. Nevertheless, I support it unconditionally, even if only because it has been opposed by Komsomol apparatchiks, including those holding high ranks, although this is by no means an emergency. From several generations of leaders, the leadership of the Young League has inherited the habit of turning aside from the purest and boldest in art, including even poetry. Take a look at the lists of the laureates of the Lenin Komsomol Prize—there is no Akhmadulina, Voznesensky, Okudzhava or Vysotsky in them. But times change. And the film's support by Viktor Mironenko, First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, is also seen as something almost taken for granted. After all, Komsomol has been conceived not as a citadel of bureaucrats, but as a cradle of revolutionaries, so it has no right to be more conservative than the Party.

**All-Union Student Forum Organizing Committee Begins Work**

18000598 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 1

[Article by K. Belyaninov: "We Have the Right; In Moscow the All-Union Student Forum Has Begun Its Work"]

[Text] "Where to?" the doorkeeper repeated again vigilantly, barring the door.

"To visit. For only half an hour," repeated Marat Nasirov, a student of the Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute, slipping in. After that, everything was easier:

reaching one of the rooms of the Orlenok hotel, finding a free place and getting involved in the work. This is how Marat acted. On his own initiative, and unlike the majority of the members of the organizing committee, without a special invitation.

But who prohibits a student from participating in the solving of the problems which are most important for him? Yes, and the organizing committee decided from the very beginning that entry for "a person with ideas" must be free.

The organizers of the meeting were the Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR State Education Committee, the VTsSPS [All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions] and the Ministry of Defense.

"...Honestly speaking, on the first day of work, I was afraid of two things, which are different in principle but very characteristic for us. The first is an apparatus playing at democracy, performed according to a scenario agreed upon beforehand, and the second is a meeting in which everyone shouts his own ideas, not listening very much to his neighbors.

"My fears were not justified, however. They spoke about painful issues. Judge for yourself - the most serious organizations have good intentions in abundance. But as before there is not sufficient space in the dormitories: the shortage of accommodations, according to official data, amounts to 430,000 places. Only one in five student families has a roof over its heads. Only 74 percent of students receive a stipend, and 40 percent suffer from chronic illnesses - this is almost 2,124,000 persons. University science centers carry out work for 50 million rubles a year but pay students not more than 60 rubles a month. Eight hundred thousand graduates work in posts not requiring a higher education."

This is only a part of the statistics cited at the meetings. But not one of the speakers was able to say how many universities simply cannot give a normal education because of the lack of elementary training centers. Up to this time there are no such figures.

But the first meeting of the organizing committee was not assembled to give ready answers. Only questions were submitted in the discussions. The most diverse, from the students' participation in agricultural work to the creation of their own organization.

"We must stand up for the idea of a student trade union," thinks Sergey Roshchin, a member of the Moscow State University Komsomol Committee.

"We must start with everyday problems," suggests Vitols Uldis, a student at the Riga Polytechnical Institute.

Aleksandr Karasev, a student at the Leningrad Air Defense Higher Military-Political School, argues that the problems of the military school students are not at all less.

It is now still too early to speak about results - this was the first meeting and there remains more than half a year until the opening of the forum: it is planned to be held in November. But the members of the organizing committee have already shown that absolutely opposite opinions can be got on with entirely under one roof, and they outlined the first, for the time being, model of a real democratic meeting. A concrete program of action was outlined: during a month, 100 members of the organizing committee will collect students' opinions on the basic questions of today: what to submit to the forum's tribune, the system of preparation in military departments, participation in agricultural work, and the concept of self-government. The proposed procedure for elections: one delegate from every university and one from every four military schools and every ten tekhnikums.

But for the time being...For the time being the all-union student wall newspaper EVRIKA suggests to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA that one more right be added to the students' rights which exist on paper. The real right to be heard. If your opinion is a) out of the ordinary, b) constructive, and c) interesting, the EVRIKA Council guarantees it will appear on the pages of the paper. The questionnaire is attached.

#### EVRIKA Questionnaire:

1. Propose your own version of elections.
2. Name the three most important questions which you would want to submit to the forum's tribune.

#### Belorussian Youth Meet in LiSSR on Informal Groups, Cultural Issues

18000611a Vilnius KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by V. Vaynerite: "I Want to Speak in My Native Language"; A Belorussian Youth Congress Was Held in Vilnius"]

[Text] Above the entrance to a building on Komunar street was flying a white-red-and-white flag, the national flag of Belorussia. On the staircase leading to the auditorium, quick young steps were heard—66 youth groups from all corners of Belorussia sent 242 delegates to the "Second Valny Soym." "In Minsk it would have been difficult for the youth to hold this congress," said Sergey Vitushka. "It is true that the gorispolkom granted us premises in answer to our request, but it was only for one day, and even that was in the middle of the working week."

Thus the youth congress found itself under the threat of ruin, and the Lithuanian Perestroyka Movement came to the aid of the Belorussian youth. As the "Soym" delegates emphasized, it was precisely in Lithuania that they succeeded in speaking freely in a free land.

"Why are you here? Sacrificing your free time after a tiring, long trip early in the day?"

I asked this of many young people in the vestibule who were selling "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth], the bulletin of the independent information center of the Belorussian people's front for perestroyka, medals with the national coat of arms of Belorussia—a rider rushing forward with a sword in his hand—so similar to the Lithuanian nation arms, badges and insignia with the colors of the national flag. One answer by a young girl stayed in my mind: "I want to feel free in my own land, to know the real history of my country, to speak in my native tongue."

Oles Susha, a member of the "Talaka" association, told the story of the origin of the informal youth movement in Belorussia: "Several fellows got together and argued over whether they could speak in their native language all day. It turned out they couldn't. Then in 1979 this movement arose. In the beginning it was a movement for the revival of the native language."

Perhaps there was another reason: it was exactly in 1979 that the beginning of the economic crisis in Poland came and the idea appeared that all this might be expected in Belorussia. You see, as a matter of fact we all find ruins of culture, spirituality, and the economy—the idea is heard distinctly in all the speeches of the delegates to the Congress. It was precisely that which served as the principal stimulus to stirring up the "informals" of Belorussia.

The representatives of construction brigades from two union republics, Latvia and Belorussia, made a boat trip in the summer of 1987 from the Belorussian village of Druya along the Dvina River to Daugavpils. By these excursions, the students were protesting the projected construction of the Daugavpils GRES, which would have caused great damage to the ecology of the republic. Commenting on the deplorable condition of the ecology in Belorussia, archeologist Zenon Poznyak said: "We all understand that it is impossible to live this way any longer. We are standing on the edge of an ecological catastrophe. All prognoses agree that we will not have a future if urgent measures are not taken. One fifth of the ploughed fields of Belorussia are infected, tens of thousands of children are in grave condition. Information about pollution of the atmosphere is concealed from the population." Public opinion succeeded in achieving the cancellation of the construction of GRES, and the "informals" contributed to this too. But in answer to this action of the young people, there followed a sharp official condemnation. Why did this happen? Z. Poznyak explains the current situation which has taken shape in the republic in this way: "Belorussia is lagging behind

on many questions in perestroyka, first and foremost on glasnost. The structure of functionaries advocating the anti-humanist values of the 1930's and 1940's remains almost undisturbed, moss-covered stereotypes of administrative-command thinking. An example: the events of 30 October and the attempts to sow distrust among the popular masses towards the progressive intelligentsia and the members of informal organizations, to create a vacuum around them and conditions of intolerance. The centralization policy has made us a tongueless people. There is a cultural catastrophe which is depriving man of harmonious development. Accusations directed at the intelligentsia continue, as does profiteering on the backwardness and illiteracy of the working class. Our best writers—the conscience of the people—are openly called 'impostors' for participating in the organization of a democratic movement in support of perestroyka.

"The bureaucratic apparatus, having taken an active part in the systematic destruction of the national intelligentsia, is now trying to escape responsibility by misinforming the population. Therefore, a most humane association, the 'Belorussian Martirolog,' which wants to restore the good name of all the victims of the Stalinist military-feudal regime, is being persecuted."

Oles Susha adds: "Any youth association has only to try to reveal even some of its stand, and immediately it is stuck with a label such as 'their demands for political change express, as a rule, the ambitions of a certain group of people,' and 'public censure' follows."

What do these young people want, they who are gathering in the House of Culture?

"A great democratization of society is necessary—permission in fact and not just in words of everything that is not prohibited by the Constitution: freedom of assembly, demonstration, and speech," was said at the Congress. For the present, many initiatives of young people run into trouble with their official authorities of the republic. For example, the "informals" began to go to houses, canvassing the parents to put their children in schools where instruction will be conducted in the Belorussian language, but this work did not last long—the canvassers were detained by workers of the organs of internal affairs.

"Gradually, owing to such 'encounters' with official persons, more and more young people are leaving the so-called second sector of the youth movement, the Moscow-centrist sector," said O. Gruzdilovich, "when they are hoping, they say, that the next instruction from Moscow will change everything for the better. People are beginning to understand that no one will help them—they must accomplish their own revival themselves."

The Youth associations have worked up a whole program for the revival of the national language. They have already succeeded in creating in several institutes in Minsk groups to study the Belorussian language. One of

the institutions of higher learning established the first group of instruction in Belorussian. In grades 8 and 10 of the middle school, exams will now be conducted in Belorussian language.

Everywhere the creation of discussion clubs is being planned (some of them are already operating), where more and more young people will be able to assemble, debate, think, and learn to define their place in today's world.

The informal youth associations of Belorussia are trying to participate in the election of people's deputies. "The republic's means of mass information rarely give us a rostrum, and so the people are almost not acquainted with our program," said V. Ivashkevich. "But we must make up our minds that in spite of all the difficulties, the result of our victory must in the end depend only on us. Because even not knowing us, people more often vote against the bureaucrats, and that means against those who are against us."

But life continually tosses up new troubles. Viktor Ivashkevich informed the delegates that in spite of the authoritative commission's decision prohibiting the construction of the metro [subway] under the historical part of Minsk, the building administration succeeded in achieving the continuation of this construction, which threatens the precious monuments of Belorussian history with serious damage...

In the 1920's, the well-known Belorussian writer Yanka Kupala wrote that in all critical moments in the history of the Belorussian people—in the years of the peasant uprisings of the 19th century, in 1905 and in 1917-1918, young people were always in the forefront. And he added—in any situation young people will carve their way all the same.

The Belorussian congress on Lithuanian soil lasted for two days. For two days its delegates spoke about the necessity for revival of the national language and culture, touched on questions of the republic's economic self-financing system and self-determination.

#### Uzbek Crime Statistics Released

18000661a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
25 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by O. Strelnikov: "Without the 'Secret' Stamp"]

[Text] The data that the editor's office received from the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs were secret for many decades. And there could be no talk of publishing figures characterizing the state of criminality in the republic. Today the restrictions have been removed. Clarity has been introduced not only in the real day-to-day situation in the republic but also in the question

of secrecy, which at times did not preserve state secrets but helped to hide the situation in unfavorable areas from the public. It did not serve state but departmental interests.

For a long time, practically the only figure that objectively indicated the effectiveness of the work of the internal affairs authorities was the notorious "percentage of crimes solved."

The practice of presenting what is desired instead of reality also produced bitter fruit in the fight against crime. The dynamics of the increase in the number of crimes is confirmation of this.

Last year alone in Uzbekistan, they registered 70,050 crimes. This is 5.6 percent more than in 1987. The number of serious crimes, homicides and attempted homicides increased from 581 to 780. There were 458 rapes and attempted rapes registered last year, compared with 402 in 1987. Robberies numbered 644 and 391, respectively.

The number of burglaries of personal property of citizens increased by more than one-third last year—to 17,264. There were 7,904 burglaries in apartments.

There were 5,031 crimes committed under the influence of alcohol and 3,557 committed by adolescents. One-third of all crimes registered last year in the republic took place in Tashkent.

Figures characterizing the efficiency of the work of authorities to prevent and uncover crimes were also publicized. In 1988, the internal affairs authorities sought 5,122 criminals. Of them, 3,965 were arrested, or 77.4 percent. Of 3,963 missing persons, 2,980 were located.

There were 12,438 persons registered last year for the use of narcotics and 4,819 were given the medical diagnosis of "addicted to narcotics"; 108 of them were minors.

We present the following data as a separate line: in 1988, 19 members of the Uzbek internal affairs authorities were killed in the line of duty.

As Lt Col Militia G. Trofimenko, deputy director of the information center of the Uzbek Ministry of Internal Affairs reported, the information on the state of criminality is intended to bring about a broad response in the public, who have a large role in crime prevention.

#### MVD: With Invitation, 'Almost Anyone' May Travel Abroad

*I8000661b Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian  
1 Feb 89 p 4*

[Interview with K. Mamedov, chief of the Department for Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens of the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, by E. Aleksandrov: "Visiting Abroad"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Just a few years ago, the phrase used in the headline of the interview could have been used only figuratively. But today it sounds everyday and does not

evoke any undesired associations. The democratic reforms taking place in our country, having significantly expanded the rights of the Soviet people, also had the most direct effect on this area, which previously brought to mind the carefully guarded foreign sector. We recall that in past times one not only could not visit relatives living abroad but it was not safe even to mention them.

The number of inhabitants of the republic wishing to visit relatives or acquaintances abroad or to invite them here is literally growing from month to month. And the desire of our readers to find out in more detail how this can be done and what is new in the rules regulating these trips is quite understandable.

[Aleksandrov] To begin, Kurban Mamedovich, here is a question for you: How many countries did representatives of our republic visit in 1988?

[Mamedov] There is no secret here. Inhabitants of Azerbaijan visited relatives, acquaintances or friends in 60 countries of the world. Besides the traditional countries—socialist countries and such capitalist countries as America, France and the FRG—representatives of the republic made private visits to Bangladesh, Angola, Costa Rica, Bahrain, Israel, Qatar, Morocco and practically the whole world. Some countries were visited more often than others, of course. There was a noticeably increase in the number of trips to Israel. One-fourth of those receiving permission to visit a capitalist country went to Israel, with which, I note, we still have no diplomatic relations. This emphasizes once again how humane our state has become in questions involving international contacts between people. Something else is interesting as well. Whereas previously it was primarily inhabitants of Baku, Kirovabad and Sumgait who applied for permission to make a private trip, they are now from almost all rayons, even the most remote, which we call the "boondocks."

[Aleksandrov] And from how many countries do they come to visit us?

[Mamedov] From 44. The more we visit abroad, the more, naturally, come visit us. I will present just two figures for comparison with the past. Thus, in 1988, we drew up three and a half times as many approvals for trips abroad than in 1986 and we issued three times as many permits to enter. And one can only be pleased about this.

[Aleksandrov] But the ones who are pleased are probably the ones who were able to get their wishes with your help. All this gave you more work to do.

[Mamedov] And the result of this was lines at the OVIR, which evoke the just censure of visitors. Unfortunately, the change in the situation has not yet produced changes in the personnel structure of the OVIR and it is not easy for us. We are seeking a way out in the improvement of the organization of the work. For example, we will soon

move our reception room, which is on Samed Vurgun Street, to the main building on Gogol Street. Here it will be spacious and comfortable but this is not all that is involved. We will now be able to resolve many questions locally without delay and it will not be necessary for the people to come several times. Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to address inhabitants of other cities who come to Baku to draw up the documents for a private trip. It is not necessary to spend time on the road. For these matters, turn to the passport personnel of your police departments and they will get in touch with you.

[Aleksandrov] Many are interested in whether one can use guest visas to capitalist countries only to visit close relatives.

[Mamedov] The position that went into effect at the beginning of 1987 initially permitted only trips to visit relatives but soon these restrictions were lifted as well. Anyone can visit any person who invites him in any country.

[Aleksandrov] Anyone?

[Mamedov] Just about. The exception is those who because of their duties have knowledge of state secrets and also those who gave false information about themselves on their questionnaire or behaved unworthily during a previous trip or tried to violate customs rules. We turned down only eight last year. One of them had access to secret information, one was once arrested at the customhouse, and the rest tried to deceive us when they filled out their questionnaires. But it turns out that they deceived themselves.

[Aleksandrov] For how long can one visit abroad?

[Mamedov] This question is not for us. Everyone figures out his own possibilities based mainly on his vacation time. But we are not setting any time limits. If conditions allow you to stay for 6 months, go ahead. If you want to stay a week, that is your business. By the way, there are no restrictions on the number of trips either. One can go as often as necessary.

[Aleksandrov] Tell us to what extent the system for drawing up documents for such trips has been simplified?

[Mamedov] I would say that it has now been simplified as much as possible. It is no longer necessary to collect recommendations and affirmations from party authorities or to get all kinds of approvals. A questionnaire attested at the place of work is now sufficient for a trip. For those going to a capitalist country, to be sure, it is a little more detailed but does not represent any difficulties. For those who are preparing to visit socialist countries, we will soon issue an insert for the Soviet passport instead of a foreign passport. The matter has been decided and it is now only a matter of the inserts, which we will soon receive. And one other thing. Trips to such

socialist countries as Cuba, Yugoslavia, China and several others were legalized on the basis of the system in effect for capitalist countries. This is no longer the case. There is a uniform system for all socialist countries. But I think that the current rules will also be simplified. Work is already being done on new documents.

[Aleksandrov] And what is the system for entrance into the USSR, if someone should decide to invite a friend from Hungary or Argentina?

[Mamedov] If a Soviet citizen permanently living abroad wants to come visit, it is no longer necessary to have the approval of the OVIR for this. It is sufficient for him to turn to our consular office where he lives. If you want to invite a friend from Hungary or other socialist country, write out the usual application and come to us. It will be a little more complicated for a friend from Argentina. He needs to fill out a visa questionnaire in our consulate and send it to you. And you will have to bring it along with your application to the OVIR. In general, this is not very complicated either.

[Aleksandrov] Here, perhaps, we could conclude our conversation. You answered many questions that interest readers....

[Mamedov] In concluding, I would like to give one piece of advice, which, to be sure, goes beyond the scope of the conversation and is addressed to people who have decided to emigrate permanently to America. The U.S. Embassy in Moscow disseminated an appeal, in which it strongly advises such citizens not to be in a hurry about leaving before they receive guarantees from relatives that they are prepared to accept them. Even if you already have permission to leave, states the appeal, do not receive your foreign passport until you have permission to enter the United States. Otherwise—I do not want to frighten anyone—you might end up in a difficult situation. Americans are practical people and they are not going to warn someone without reason.

#### Laxity in Degree Certification Cited, Alternative Approach Advocated

18000635 Moscow *IZVESTIYA* in Russian 9 Mar 89  
p 3

[Article by S. Leskov: "Professors on the Flow: Does VAK Oppose Mediocrity in Science?"]

[Text] Leonardo da Vinci, desiring to get a job as a court mechanic, introduced himself by saying, "I know a method of making..." In the present-day scientific world, the role of a visiting card is played, every now and then, not by a person's specific knowledge or abilities, but by a kind of vague "degreed status"—the possession of a learned degree. It is no secret to anyone that the candidate's degree, and even the doctoral degree, says extremely little about a person's true talents.

Dissertations—congenial and completely insignificant ones—receive approval at the Higher Certification Commission [VAK]. The awarding of a learned degree to an unworthy degree candidate is by no means a broad gesture or act of philanthropy. After a person has received recognition and has gotten established in his profession, he immediately provides himself with the same kind of untalented followers and students. It is easiest to stop the chain reaction of giving birth to mediocrity in science wherever that chain reaction makes its presence common knowledge and wherever the domain of the Higher Certification Commission extends. Therefore it will be no exaggeration to say that the level of our science is largely determined by the degree of firmness and of adherence to principles that one discerns in the position taken by this monitoring agency.

A year and a half ago the Party Control Committee, CPSU MGK [Moscow City Committee], carried out a careful inspection of the work performed by the Higher Certification Commission. The work of its party buro was deemed to be unsatisfactory and many administrators were given strict penalties. Academician Ye. Shemyakin became VAK chairman. The situation began to change. Even greater benefit could be derived at the present time, during the period of positive shifts, from an analysis of certain conflict situations that are typical of VAK.

Take this example. The dissertation presented by Ye. Shorokhov, assistant professor at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute, which was devoted to the theoretical and methodological principles of composition, caused an uproar among specialists. The degree candidate had chosen as the topic of his research a very important and very complicated one. Because not a single one of the famous artists of the past who worked on the problem of composition—Alberti, Durer, Delacroix, Repin—had taken the risk of assuming the responsibility for creating a comprehensive work. And yet assistant professor Ye. Shorokhov had taken that risk. Maybe it is because he himself is not an artist and does not engage in that activity that the task seemed to him to be completely feasible. But was he successful? When the professionals became acquainted with what he had produced, their hair, as the expression goes, stood on end. VAK was inundated with indignant letters and protests were lodged by D. Bisti, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Arts, and RSFSR People's Artist; by V. Zinchenko and V. Alekseyev, corresponding members of USSR APN [Academy of Pedagogical Sciences]; and other scientists and artists. The specialists assured VAK that the task that had been posed not only had not been resolved, but had also been misinterpreted. They cited places where the author had made erroneous judgments, with some of the formulations that had been invented by the person presenting the dissertation resembled nothing but anecdotes. Are people really supposed to appreciate such pearls as, "It is necessary to preserve the realistic nature of the figure as a whole and of its individual parts,

whether it be a leg that is extended to the side or an arm that is raised in a welcoming gesture", "one should not paint a steamship by using thin, light colors", or "if the composition is constructed asymmetrically, it is not symmetrical, and, conversely, if the composition is symmetrical, then it is not asymmetrical." There is no end to the number of such examples.

It would seem that this is a simple matter. The objections are serious, the persons making the objections are well-known, and they are not concealing their names. Their intentions are the most unselfish, and are only in the interests of the specific case. One can only be surprised that it is specifically the interests of the case that are not upsetting VAK in this instance. According to some strange logic, instead of analyzing the work impartially, they are putting in motion various actions designed to pull through the dissertation that is under dispute, and to prevent that dispute itself. The route is well-known: to send the dissertation where the response will be guaranteed.

They sent the dissertation to Professor K. Finogenov and to A. Lebedev, academician of USSR Academy of Arts. At the present time the former is 87 years old, and the latter is 81, and it is by no means the case that each of them, at such an advanced age, is capable of carrying out physically exhausting research. But it is a matter not only of age. In this conflict the experts could in no way be considered to be complete outsiders who were capable of maintaining their impartiality and objectivity. For many years K. Finogenov had been an instructor at the very same MGPI [Moscow State Pedagogical Institute] and had worked hand in hand with N. Rostovtsev, the current chairman of the special council. The second reviewer is also an individual who is well known. In the 1940's young critic A. Lebedev was one of those who began a campaign against the cosmopolites, who railed against the "miserable, degenerate aesthetes who had shut themselves off from the nation"—Pasternak, Punin, Kamenskiy, Tukhekhols. The critic's efforts were not in vain—he became an academician, an institute director, and now he is a respected expert.

VAK granted Ye. Shorokhov the learned degree of doctor of pedagogical sciences. This decided the fate not only of the person presenting the dissertation, but also of the students who obviously would not have to wait long before they would be poring over the ridiculous work that had been sanctified by VAK.

As a classic author has stated, the only place where no one makes mistakes is in the drugstore. It is obvious that VAK also cannot provide a complete guarantee against errors. But it is necessary to learn from one's errors. And for any serious analysis it is necessary to trace the path taken in its further life by the output released from the walls of VAK. Does science need that output, or does it not need it? In all the textbooks on administration it is stated that a system operates effectively only if there is

feedback. Is VAK interested in the fate of the dissertations that it has approved? Do they go into the archives, or do they serve as a detonator for an explosion of ideas? I asked that question of V. Vyskub, deputy academic secretary of USSR VAK, and party bureau secretary.

"In VAK's annual collection," V. Vyskub explained, "we direct the attention of the ministries and departments to those dissertations which, in our opinion, conform to the high-priority trends in the development of science and technology and which can be recommended for introduction. In an accompanying letter we ask the recipient to express his attitude to this question. Previously we used to receive practically no responses, but last year we did receive several letters. Jointly with other departments, USSR VAK participated in organizing an exhibition entitled 'Cadres of Science' at the VDNKh [Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy]."

You will agree that this is not quite enough to speak seriously about feedback. A feature that is very widespread in the scientific world is the citation index, according to which one can just the number of citations to a particular research work. It is precisely the citation index that is the highest scale for evaluating the prestige of a scientific work. However...

"We do not take into consideration the citation index for the dissertations that have passed through VAK," V. Vyskub states disappointingly.

What, then, does guide VAK's actions? What is the concealed mechanism for making decisions in a moot situation? The answer is determined by the nature of the monitoring agency. VAK is the state acceptance agency for bringing people into science. However much we have stated that state acceptance in industry must be independent of the economy's needs as of this minute, there is no way that this can be achieved. And that applies also to VAK, to state acceptance in science. Every year, 30,000 candidate dissertations and 3,400 doctoral dissertations pass through VAK. But only 0.1 percent of the candidate dissertations and 1.2 percent of the doctoral dissertations are sifted out. It would be a good thing if the special councils in the outlying areas operated in a more demanding manner. But, as was noted at the bureau of CPSU MGK, "almost half the dissertations that are defended are evaluated by boards of experts as being only satisfactory. Their typical shortcomings are the lack of any innovation in research, and their unsuitability for practical introduction." Thus it would be more correct to call the filter a sieve. Could this be the reason why the operational features of the filter that has been called upon to hold back second-rate scientific material are determined not only by the direct purpose for which the filter was designed?

"It is incorrect to say that an unjustifiably large number of dissertations are defended here," Academician Ye. Shemyankin, VAK chairman, insists. "There are only a

few dissertations! A catastrophically small number of them! Throughout the country, at departments of institutions of higher learning, in laboratories, and in the administration of organizations and departments, there is a critical shortage of scientists with degrees. The number of doctors of sciences, for example, required to fill the official vacancies is twice the number of those that we now have. The average age of doctors of sciences in the country is very high—approximately 55 years. Their active scientific period is just 15 years. Moreover, those figures are not growing any better."

When we begin to deal with large scales, the specific deeds retreat into the shadows. Things are difficult with the quality of the scientific cadres in the country. One cannot fail to agree with Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shemyakin. But isn't VAK worsening the already joyless picture? Despite the recent innovations, it continues to be easier for a zealous and go-getting dissertation candidate to defend his dissertation that for a person who, to the detriment of practicality, has been given a real talent. Yes, in individual instances, I have no doubt, VAK is firm and inflexible, but, as with every state acceptance, the certification procedure cannot fail to respond to the needs of the scientific institutions or the higher education system. The "gross mentality" and high quality are incompatible in any field. Could it not be that these underwater currents carried Ye. Shorokhov's dissertation safely over all the reefs? The painting department at MGPI needed a doctor of sciences and a professor...

Another person who strove just as irrepressibly toward the cherished degree was assistant professor V. Domanchuk, department chief at the Kamenets-Podolsk Agricultural Institute. He defended his dissertation far from home, at the Latvian Agricultural Academy. But the dissertation had been prepared on the basis of materials pertaining to the southwestern forest-steppe oblasts of the Ukraine, and one would hardly think that the special council in a Baltic republic could evaluate the correctness of the obtained results. Why didn't V. Domanchuk want to defend his dissertation in the Ukraine? Could it have been because he had become a regular "hero" in a tremendous amount of items published in the republic press? He had been mentioned in PERETS! Actually, entire pages of his pamphlet "Rekomendatsii po planirovaniyu selskokhozyaystvennogo proizvodstva" [Recommendations for Planning Agricultural Production] had been borrowed from half-forgotten reference books dealing with the entire union. Actually, chapters of the methodological instructions "Kollektivnyy podryad v selskokhozyaystvennykh predpriyatiyakh" [Collective Contract At Agricultural Enterprises] had been rewritten from a republic publication that had been produced by other authors. V. Domanchuk's contribution to the development of science boiled down entirely to camouflaging the names of participants in other people's experiments, but leaving the results untouched. Thus, instead of V. Kalashkin, he invented, apparently in pangs of creativity, a certain R. Sidorenko. Instead of N. Petelguzov, V. Sitnikov; instead of link member V. Zaytsev, link

member N. Gumenyuk. In a word the final result was not a "Collective Contract," but a continuation of "Dead Souls"!

Where had the administrators of the higher educational institution been looking? Why had they not stopped the prolific assistant professor? Farsighted V. Domanyuk had included in the enterprise responsible for stamping out scientific works rector I. Samokish. In "Polozheniye o tsekakh..." [Statute Governing Shops...], which was published in 1981, V. Domanchuk had had certain coauthors, but in the 1985 re-edition of the pamphlet there were completely different ones, including his dear rector and other responsible workers that the assistant professor needed. Is it surprising that, when claims against the newly fledged doctor of sciences were being analyzed at VAK, there arrived from the party's Khmel'ni茨kiy Obkom a letter signed by V. Kurash, deputy chief of the Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in support of his enterprising countryman? And although in "Polozheniye o poryadke prisuzhdeniya uchenykh stepeney" [Statute Governing the Procedure for the Awarding of Learned Degrees] it is stated in black and white that they can be awarded only to persons who "follow the norms of communist morality," the institution of higher learning in Kamenets-Podolsk acquired a just as necessary doctor of sciences and professor. As in the case of Ye. Shorokhov's dissertation, the requirements of the "gross approach" proved to be higher than the declared principles, and more important than the observance of scientific ethics. This was confirmation of the old rule: morality looks where it is ordered to look.

In VAK's democratic statute one constantly finds loopholes for making decisions that contradict that statute. Why has it been completely impossible to cope with this evil? Well, it would seem that VAK is all we have—it is both judge and counsel for the defense—and all that remains is to trust in its conscientiousness, which has to be recognized as a category that is just as shaky as the conscience of a completely unlimited monarch. No organizations—not the Academy of Sciences, not VSNTO [All-Union Council of Scientific-Technical Societies], not the other organizations—essentially have the right to inquire how such a powerful lever in the development of science is operating. VAK is checked only by the party agencies, which delicately bypass at such time the professional questions, that is, the most important ones.

A few years ago the painting "Defenders of Moscow" was exhibited. Standing alongside of Marshals Zhukov and Rokossovskiy was the modest figure of the then chairman of VAK, Professor V. Kirillov-Ugryumov (he had been at the front for several days as a private). Personal immodesty? Of course, but the painting did not surprise anyone then. That kind of subservience was an accurate indicator of the atmosphere that reigned around VAK. Hypocrites and flatterers always count on getting indulgences in return. Not necessarily immediately, but when the occasion arises. Couldn't it be that this unspoken reliance upon one another contains the reason why,

in the consideration of dissertation projects, outsiders attempt from time to time to interfere, violating the principle of VAK's independence? As a sign of gratitude, there appear paintings, heroic memoirs, etc...

Who could have thought that a subject that was close to the heart of T. Khrennikov, secretary of the board of governors of USSR Composers Union, was questions of the theory of creeping, which were considered in the doctoral dissertation on construction disciplines by S. Bondarenko? However, when a number of specialists began to have doubts about that work, which had been defended at the special council of MIIT [Moscow Institute of Railroad Transport Engineers], an appeal was made to the high administrative levels, apparently, by the unusually erudite composer, asking for the competitor for the degree to be protected from persecution by his opponents. The "persecution" boiled down to the fact that MGU [Moscow State University] professors V. Pobedrya and S. Shesterikov, who had been invited by VAK as experts, had expressed their confusion as to why the defense was being made not on the basis of the topic of the work, and they had suggested transferring the consideration of the case to another council of experts. No, it was not transferred. As the expression goes, here is food for thought: V. Bondarenko, the father of the person submitting the dissertation, has for many years been the member of the council of experts where his son's work was approved.

Let us sum up the total. Essentially speaking, VAK has arbitrarily removed itself from control over the fate of dissertations. It does not serve as an insurmountable barrier for weak dissertations, although there certainly are a rather large number of them. Having bypassed the special soviet, the hackwork most frequently eludes the attention of the VAK experts also. At such time the risk for the special council is reduced to the minimum, since VAK carries out with them on an *ad hoc* basis. In 1966 VAK rejected approximately 70 dissertations, and a total of only 11 special councils out of 3000 were closed down, with there simply being no longer any need for some of them. In this situation, apparently, it is necessary to talk not about individual omissions in VAK's activities, and not about any of its specific associates, but about the sins of the scientific certification system as a whole. We should not forget that a considerable amount of the responsibility for the situation in which the fate of very important projects in the national economy, and the fate of scientific-technical progress in the country, have frequently proven to be entrusted to incompetent, ignorant administrators lies with VAK, which, at one time, failed to demonstrate a well-principled attitude and gave the go-ahead signal to mediocrity in science.

The Higher Certification Commission was created in 1932, during a period of increase in the role played by the centralized-command methods of administering all spheres of society. In 1975, at the height of the era of stagnation, the commission was reorganized. Apparently, at some stage in the development of young Soviet

science this administrative-control agency had justified its existence. Nor can one today do without a state agency that approves the nomenclature of scientific disciplines, isolating the ones that are especially vital, and that organizes a network of specialized councils throughout the country. But is it necessary to have an additional administrative level that checks the rather authoritative special councils? It is difficult to assume that VAK is more competent than the special council, say, of an academic NII [scientific-research institute] or major university. So, wouldn't it be better to place the load of responsibility for a poor dissertation on the special council that gave birth to it? If a product is defective, one should fight it out with its manufacturer. A defective product must be unprofitable primarily to that manufacturer himself. And therefore wouldn't it be better to arrange things in such a way as to have the special council itself aware and approve learned degrees? The degree could even read that way: degree of doctor of economic sciences, awarded, say, by Latvian Agricultural Academy, or degree of doctor of pedagogical sciences, awarded by the school of arts and graphic design, MGPI [Moscow State Pedagogical Institute]. Then everyone will understand the true cost of such a learned degree. And, in addition, the special council will prove to be more demanding.

By granting the special councils the right to resolve independently the question of awarding and approving learned degrees, VAK (or a state or public organization that has replaced it) could more advantageously concentrate its efforts on the resolving of conflict situations that currently are lost in the overall stream of dissertations.

In a number of countries, including the United States, this system of scientific certification is generally accepted. Moreover, in the United States a person has to pay out of his own pocket for the awarding of the learned degree of bachelor, master, or doctor of sciences. The Association of Universities decides where the works on nuclear physics must be defended, and where the works on agriculture. Monitoring of the awarding of degrees is carried out by a public organization—the Society of American Mechanical Engineers. If it is discovered that weak dissertations are being passed at a certain university, its scientific council is immediately given a "black seal," which indicates that the degree has extremely low prestige and which frightens away new degree candidates, and consequently reduces the influx of monetary proceeds. But, to return to VAK and our own special councils, it must be admitted that they continue to this day not to have any self-interestedness in the high quality of their work, and, moreover, the concept of the quality of the dissertation, in view of the lack of criteria, is viewed by them in a completely abstract manner.

Practically every time that I would visit VAK, I would meet in its corridors an alert retiree who had become a real punishment for the workers in the apparatus. Ivan Vasilyevich Yeremin has devoted his leisure time to refuting the dissertations that have been approved by

VAK. He operates very simply: he goes to the library, reads the dissertation—and then he refutes it. He gives a thorough report on his results to VAK. Thus the restless retiree—who, incidentally, is a candidate of sciences—has already refuted several dozen dissertations. Recently Yeremin was asked to give an oral report at the VAK presidium.

So far, Ivan Vasilyevich's concerns about science have not evoked any doubts.

#### Factors in Determining Demand for Pre-School Institutions Outlined

18000794 Moscow *PLANOVYE KHOZYAYSTVO* in Russian No 3, Mar 89 p 118

[Article by N. Denisov and Ye. Gontmakher, candidates of economic sciences: "Determination of Demand For Pre-School Institutions"]

[Text] In order to completely fulfill the demand for children's pre-school institutions, a preliminary quantitative determination of these needs must be made. In accordance with construction norms and regulations [SNiP], the chief index used in planning for the provision of kindergartens is the magnitude of the queue for placement in them. However, this index may serve as orientation for only 1 or 2 years, and not for any longer period of time. As the conditions for upbringing in children's institutions have improved, and their network has expanded, the demand for them is increasing due to the children who earlier would have been brought up at home because of particular features of life style (in particular, in rural localities), national traditions or parents' dissatisfaction with the level of service in kindergartens and nurseries.

Equally invalid in their planning is the comparison of kindergarten and nursery capacity with a region's entire population. In view of territorial differences of demographic structure, the index of the number of places in pre-school institutions based on 1,000 residents distorts the actual degree of fulfillment of this demand.

In our view, it is necessary to plan the development of pre-school institutions on the basis of analysis of the change in the contingent of children of the corresponding age. Thus, a number of factors should be considered: there will always be families in which circumstances (non-working family members, grandmothers and the like) allow the child to be kept at home until school age; the privileges and compensation in effect, connected with the child's birth and care, allow the woman to not work until the child reaches the age of 18 months; in the opinion of pedagogical specialists, raising the child within the family until the age of 3 years has obvious advantages in comparison to keeping him in children's pre-school institutions.

By virtue of these circumstances, it is expedient to divide the quantity of pre-schoolers into two groups—under 3 and older than this age. The necessary number of places in kindergartens for children of the older age may be taken to be equal to the size of this contingent. Despite the fact that a very small percentage of this group will nevertheless fail to avail itself of the services of pre-school institutions, a certain reserve of places in them is required in the event of rapid changes in the demographic situation.

In calculating the demand for places for children under 3 years of age it is necessary to take into consideration that at the present time, as research indicates, approximately 90 percent of women avail themselves of leave until the child reaches the age of 1 year; 50 percent of women until the age of 18 months. With the planned introduction in the near future of paid leave until the child reaches the age of 18 months, with the right to extend leave until the age of 2 years, without stipend compensation, obviously this correlation will change analogously. Therefore, the quantity of places in children's pre-school institutions for children from the age of 1-2 years will apparently constitute no more than 30 percent of the quantity of this contingent.

The number of places for children from 2-3 years of age should be determined with consideration for the features of one region or another. Investigations indicate that in rural localities where the traditions of family upbringing are strong, this number should equal approximately 50 percent of the number of children; in urbanized areas, 70 percent; and in newly constructed cities, with predominantly young populations, up to 90 percent.

In determining the overall number of places in kindergartens and nurseries, it is also necessary to calculate their number required for thinning out these institutions and achieving normative levels.

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#### Medical Clinic's Procedures Draw Complaint, Response

18300419a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 2 Feb 89 p 2

[Letter from N. Sidorova and responses from Aktyubinsk health officials: "Without Even Looking Up. Ethics of a Physician"]

[Text] Aktyubinsk—Alas, my daughter and I had to make frequent visits to an ophthalmologist. I consequently got the opportunity to observe in a casual fashion the operations of a pediatric clinic. There was much that was unexpected or completely incomprehensible.

The polyclinic begins with the registration window. Very frequently there was no one behind this window and we had to shift from one foot to another waiting impatiently and hopefully greeting the appearance of each figure in a white gown. But there was literally a frozen expression of alienation on the faces of the severe looking women. What does it take for them to care about common mortals? The medical personnel indifferently glided past us.

When the registrar finally appeared at the cherished window it turned out that to get a pass to see an ophthalmologist was not that easy. One had to come by 1800 hours and sign in the self-service register book which was doubtless thought up for the convenience of the patients. Later I had occasion to see how a crowd of parents flung themselves at the registry book precisely at 1800 hours, hurriedly tearing out coupon passes... A sad picture. I also did not understand why it was necessary to sign in just at 1800 hours, and not an hour earlier, for example, or at any time for that matter. Who thought up this procedure? Why have we submissively accepted it?

But that procedure did not go unchanged for a long time. Apparently, some kind of experiments were being conducted that were not quite obvious to people far removed from medicine. Instead of being able to register on any day, it became possible to sign in only on Friday, and again only at 1800 hours. The number of people who came to register under those circumstances increased fivefold. Then the "treasured" hour was changed to seven o' clock. Of course, with previous notification. Somebody wanted it that way, and that was all there was to it.

The days went by and my unintentional observations piled up. I saw how indifferently we were greeted by the physicians, and how they didn't even raise their eyes above the medical charts in order to look at us, and how they so willingly got distracted into conversations with their colleagues about all kinds of new items. When they leave their office to attend to their own business which perhaps may be urgent they don't bother to leave a note on their door. They mutter some explanations about which laboratory we should go to next.

I saw all of this at the Pediatric Polyclinic No. 2 in the city of Ust-Kamenogorsk, but when I moved to Aktyubinsk and once again got the opportunity to observe and compare, I got the feeling that I had not moved anywhere. True, the Aktyubinsk polyclinic, which was also No. 2 by the way, did not have a registry window. Perhaps that was for the better. One doesn't have to lose time looking for a chart. On the other hand, the operations are being handled by a single woman who is constantly distracted by telephone calls requesting home visits by a physician, and of course this is not so convenient for those would like to obtain essential information.

The pass procedure here is also not thought out well. They are also obtained once a week, on Fridays. And there is always wrangling at the doors among those who have passes and those who came to see a physician without a pass, at the invitation of the physician or even those who arrived with eye injuries! In short, the familiar troubles. I would not hesitate to claim that any person could cite similar examples. And not only as they apply to pediatric polyclinics.

What is this if not a fundamental violation of professional discipline by medical personnel? I would say further—a violation of labor and production discipline. We have somehow become accustomed to connect deviations from discipline to tardiness and truancies, but what if the interests of the patients are being openly neglected at our therapeutic institutions, then what?

All of this not only turns into moral losses. As this concerns medical institutions, we cannot hide the fact that these losses are human ones as well.

I managed to speak in one of the district hospitals of Martukskiy Rayon with an old medical assistant Vasiliy Sergeyevich Samoylov. He has seen a lot in the 42 years he has worked at one place. There would be no harm in asking such a person what he thinks about the atmosphere in our hospitals. Vasiliy Sergeyevich expressed himself plainly: "If the chief physician is sincerely concerned about problems of discipline without hesitating to demand strict accountability from his subordinates, this would be beneficial."

And so? Despite the utter simplicity of that view of things it has its own truth. And life's experience confirms it. If problems of discipline are of concern to Chief Physician of the Aktyubinsk City Hospital Viktor Georgiyevich Mochalov then the procedures at the clinic are also excellent. This has been noted by anyone who has visited and been treated here. This means we need an active stance, we need a struggle for order. Then our therapeutic institutions will more quickly become islands of perestroika in the sea of the health sector.

*[Signed] N. Sidorova, mother of three children*

After having obtained the consent of the author, special correspondent of KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA S. Yeremeyev showed the contents of this letter to several health officials in Aktyubinsk. Here are just a few of their comments.

**N. Yazykova, physical therapist at the Second Pediatric Polyclinic:**

The situation is really a sad one. And no one will dispute it. Yes, it is obvious that the procedure for admitting patients should be improved: One could not hope for anything better. But in my opinion the main thing is the need to restructure the psychology of some of our colleagues. My father worked as chief physician at a rural

district hospital in Karagand Oblast for many years. He worked, as they say, to the point of wearing out. He was proud that he did not live in vain. And what will be remembered by those who have at their disposal much more equipment for diagnosis and treatment, but who mutter to their patients without even looking at them?

**V. Mochalov, Chief Physician of the City Polyclinic:**

The very system of medical services at polyclinics until recently has required a radical restructuring, and now there is need to complete that task. And until such time as that additional work is undertaken, there will be some among the medical personnel who will claim to have reasons for his own callousness. Therefore I suggest: In the first place, raise the level of responsibility of the district physicians. Each one of them should by law be personally accountable to the chief physician for the state of affairs in his district. In the second place, there should be a further extension of these sectors and a transfer to family physician status. We already have some examples of this in Aktyubinsk, although still on an experimental basis.

**K. Sakhnov, Deputy Chief of the City Health Department:**

The letter is a very intelligent and just one. All the more bitter for us since the solution to the problems raised by the author is within our capacity. It is a basic truth that indifference and medicine are incompatible. But what is to be done with those who chose the wrong field. The latest rigid certification examinations have identified professional discrepancies in some medical personnel. Some have been conditionally certified which should also be a warning signal to physicians. This of course will raise the level of responsibility. This means we shall not lessen our enthusiasm.

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As can be seen, these opinions do not contradict the arguments of the letter's author. We are still far from making radical changes and at the same time the critical tone of the medics themselves offer some hope. Yes, we agree, we must work and we must restructure ourselves.

Shall we wait?

**Karaganda Oblast Hospital Deemed Inadequate**  
18300419b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by F. Kuzovkov: "But Sickness Will Not Wait"]

[Text] There is a proverb among the people: "You can never disown your saddle bag or prison." And I would add neither can you renounce hospitals. Since in the course of one's life there is hardly any mortal that can avoid a hospital. And God forbid if that hospital turns out to be the kind of place that is the present Karaganda Oblast Clinical Hospital.

When I went to the doctor for my first post-treatment visit and she sadly told me after having examined me that I would again have to be hospitalized, I suddenly was not quite myself. Before my eyes there suddenly appeared an unsightly hospital picture: overcrowded, stuffy, uncomfortable wards, dirty toilets, cockroaches crawling along the corridors, the wards, the food lockers, and even in the treatment room.

But still I am not at all inclined to believe that it is only the hospital staff that is to blame for all of these faults. It more their misfortune than their blame. The fact of the matter is that three years ago capital repairs were started on the main wing of the hospital. And in spite of all the sanitary and hygiene standards, numerous medical services were, as they say, squeezed into two small adjacent buildings.

Of course, frankly speaking, the only persons who could possibly work under such conditions are possessed completely selfless people totally devoted to their duty. And it is a good thing that such people predominate at that collective. I make that judgment not only on the basis of my own impression. When I picked up the comment book there was literally a spring-like torrent of heartfelt thanks from patients expressed to persons who had brought them back to health.

But I cannot become reconciled with the fact (and this bothers all of my fellow residents) that the hospital has been undergoing repairs for so long—three years now. A new hospital could have been built in that time. Yes, and there would have even been sufficient funds. It is no joke to say that no more or no less than 460,000 rubles have been spent on restoring the hospital.

"At first they planned to undertake routine repairs," said Deputy Chief Physician for Financing Ye. Rykov. "But then when they started the repair work they became convinced that the building was old and in need of capital repairs."

It is true that the hospital, like Karaganda, is already more than a half century old in which case it is of historical importance to the city. At the entrance to the hospital a modest marble door-plate is attached to the wall and reads: "Kazakh SSR. Building where evacuation hospital No. 1776 was located in 1943-1944. Historical monument protected by the state."

Almost every passerby who goes by the building slows his pace to honor these words so precisely carved into the marble that revive memories of the severe war years. And how bitter it feels to look at the lonely building of the hospital: the plaster in many places has crumbled, broken glass in some windows and doors, suspended worn out rusty sewer pipes...

On the day I came to see how the hospital repairs were coming along, its enormous wing was deserted. Only here and there was there a clang of iron, the banging of a

hammer, and the squealing of a saw. In one of the rooms I met a rather middle-aged man. We became acquainted. "Ivan Ivanovich Frazh," he introduced himself as he was diligently attaching a facing slab to a wall. Later he told me that he works as carpenter and bricklayer in mine-construction collective No. 2, i.e., the same collective as some others that were commissioned to repair the hospital.

"And what are you doing working here all alone," I asked.

"That's the way it worked out today. We ran out of cement and bricks at the Maykuduk mine where our administration is repairing a ventilator. So instead of my sitting around with nothing to do, they sent me here..."

In general, repair work is done here, as they say, in a so-so manner. As was noted bitterly by Ye. Rykov: In accordance with the notorious residual principle.

Worse yet is the fact that the same job is done over again several times because of a lack of coordination between repair workers (they work in different organizations). Ye. Rykov dropped into the hospital's food section that had just been repaired, and we indignantly saw it was disfigured by the sanitation engineers and electricians who arrived after the decorators. In order to install the pipes and electric wiring, they pierced holes into the walls and ceiling without giving the slightest consideration to the work of their own comrades. And if this is the attitude they take towards their work, there will never be an end to the repair work.

"A final completion date for the job has already been set three times," complained Chief Hospital Physician K. Yerkembayev, "and three times they failed to meet the deadline."

And after all of that is there is any surprise that on the holiday celebrating the October anniversary, the medical personnel in the parade carried along with their slogans and banners the sign: "We demand a rapid completion of repairs at the oblast clinical hospital!"

But do we have to wait for a holiday to accomplish that goal? Surely, the problem at hand would have long since resolved if only it had been handled more efficiently by our oblast and city authorities and managerial supervisors of the organizations that were assigned the hospital repair job. This was all the more possible because our kray has at its disposal a powerful construction base, personnel, and the experience of efficient construction projects.

Karaganda residents, for example, will well remember how within an exceptionally short period of time the multistory Chayka hotel of exceptional architectural design was built literally before our eyes in the city's most picturesque site (in the area of the Park of Culture and Rest imeni 30th Anniversary of the Komsomol).

The hotel was later to be the site of CEMA commission session on problems concerned with the development of the coal industry. Construction of that building, as they say, proceeded at full swing day and night. When blizzards were howling outside and there were ringing frosts the whole building was covered with a polyethylene film and heaters were installed in order to keep the finishing operations on schedule and adhere to the completion date for the hotel.

"But that was a special project!" you will say. Yes, it was an important and necessary project. But is it possible that an oblast clinical hospital is a socially less important project?

And there are many other instances that have been reported at city and rayon party conferences which indicate that the material base of the health sector in our oblast is not very satisfactory.

Chief Oblast Pediatrician N. Deys said at the conference of Sovetskiy Rayon communists that "perestroika is now proceeding throughout the whole country and the attitude to social problems is changing. But one doesn't sense that change here. Take our city hospital, for example. The conditions there cannot withstand any criticism. It lacks sewage pipes and water lines. The situation is not any better at the pediatric polyclinic in the Southeast. Its projected capacity was 150 visits per day, but we are seeing from 1,200 to 1,500 children daily. What kind of final results can be expected under such conditions?"

Yes, we have an ample supply of difficulties in the work of medical institutions because of the poor material base. But many of those difficulties could be resolved even now and without any special capital expenditures if people were willing to do so. As is the case everywhere, the size of the party and soviet apparatus and staff of managerial offices is being reduced. But the surprising thing is that so far there has been no reduction in the number of administrative buildings in Karaganda. How many reports have we already seen in the central press about how released buildings will be transferred to hospitals, polyclinics, and pediatric institutions? And what is the situation here? As before, functionaries are sitting in spacious offices. Or do they not intend to change the paper and telephone style of management to live contact with people and the labor collectives, as has been demanded by the decisions of the 19th Party Conference? For example, could not the party obkom house the apparatus of the oblispolkom within its own vast seven-story building? Such an example could then be followed by the party gorkom and the gorispolkom, and the oblast agro-industrial committee.

Surely there are many such opportunities if genuine efforts in this direction were made. Take, for example, that very same Chayka hotel which was mentioned previously. And the Cosmonaut hotel. Both of those hotels have been primarily intended to accommodate vip's.

True, on the basis of a directive No. 64 issued by the oblispolkom on February 4, 1987, Chief of the Oblast Municipal Services Department V. Cherkashin issued order No. 340 on that day "On the Transfer of the Cosmonaut Hotel to Disposition of the Municipal Association of Hotel Services." General Director of Hotel Services K. Tusupsov was delighted at this development. But he had hardly managed to compose an acceptance document when literally two months later a new order was issued by the oblast housing services committee "On the Transfer of the Cosmonaut Hotel to an Independent Accounting Basis." The formulation of that order is curious:

As a result of measures undertaken during the period 1985-1986 the hotel association of Karaganda achieved positive economic and financial results and as of January 1, 1987 the association became a profitable organization after having been a profit-losing one. But when the hotel Cosmonaut which had considerable losses was incorporated into the association, the latter's financial picture significantly worsened which in turn resulted in lower wages for the service personnel. I therefore order that the board of the municipal enterprises withdraw the Cosmonaut hotel from the organization of the municipal hotel association."

Here is a true example of, as they say, "signed and done with." After all, the hotels that were unprofitable remained so. And why could not be turned over for general use to those very same hospitals and polyclinics or turned into a health center (since, in addition to luxurious rooms, the hotels also have swimming pools, saunas, and pool tables). That would be a contribution to a realistic embodiment of our good slogan: "The health of the people is the wealth of the country."

And in the meantime... When I was leaving the walls of the hospital after my discharge new patients arrived here. There were no vacancies in the wards. Concerned persons in white gowns hurriedly set up beds and folding cots in the passageways and in the already overcrowded wards, in the corridors, and even in the dining room, and made room for seriously ill patients who were in need of emergency medical aid. After all, you can't say to an illness: "Wait a minute."

**Campaign to Discredit 'Fronts' Continues**  
*18300344 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 6 Jan 89 p 3*

[Article by L. Vayzman: "Front Without a Rear"]

[Text] It soon became clear that he had thought up the last name and job himself: there was no such person either in the engineering corps, or at the Alma-Ata Heavy Machine Building Plant in general. By the way, I was sure of this immediately, but it was necessary to make sure. After all, similar "ghost writing" has occurred

many times already, when people telephone in the name of Petrov, meaning Ivanov, but in reality they remain Sidorovs. Later, of course, there is confusion...

For these considerations alone, and not some others, it was necessary to be more precise: there is no Basters whatsoever at the AZTM [Alma-Ata Heavy Machine Building Plant]. Or among those listed in the records, or among those who are working. Consequently, it is no longer a question of the standard Petrov-Ivanov-Sidorov situation, and was entirely permissible to mention an engineer allegedly named Basters and his declaration for the press, made by calling telephone number 63-55-29.

Its essence is as follows:

An informal organization with illegal status is declaring a merciless war against automobile fans who have turned courtyards and approaches into garages, poisoning the already-poisoned atmosphere of Alma-Ata, spilling oil on recreational areas, and running their motors beneath windows around the clock.

Rather quickly, from almost the first phrase, it was understandable why the alleged engineer Basters had created the new organization of "people's avengers" on an illegal basis: its hit men (he himself said "hit men") will slash the tires of personal automobiles parked in courtyards, smash the windshields and headlights, and write on the body with nails.

While informing us of the details, the alleged engineer Basters persistently emphasized that (quoted literally) "the informal organization of 'people's avengers' is a volunteer association of idealistic fighters for the preservation of the surrounding micro-environment ('micro-environment' was emphasized through intonation, evidently characterizing the originality and specific nature of the movement which is arising)." Furthermore, attention was directed to the following feature. The "people's avengers" are a self-financing organization, basing economic policy on the principles of cost-accounting income. This is why the hit men, in performing their tasks on time away from their regular jobs, will appropriate one or several wheels (according to the situation), the windshield, headlights and taillights for themselves, as a fine for polluting the surrounding micro-environment. And as compensation for the risk. ("Yes, there is material interest, but it is in the name of a lofty ideal").

Of course, this unique program of struggle for the purity of the capital's air supply and the micro-environment in courtyards calls for energetically opposing the law, which is why it is understandable, by force of such circumstances, that the organization makes its members strictly observe rules of security.

"However, engineer Basters... Any organization, if it has reason to be of illegal status, should scarcely make public declarations—this could place it under attack."

"In the first place, you hardly know the story and you should read the papers. In the second place, we do not want the authorities to view this "miserly compensation for the risk as thievery. We have an idea: let children play on clean asphalt, and let retirees taking their well-deserved rest breathe clean air. I am sure that our movement will be approved by the simple people. They will understand why we have adopted this form of struggle: to this day, neither the rayon soviets, nor the militia have been able to free people of the oppression of individual automotive transport. They are not finding an answer, they do not know how to use their brains. That is why we are making a declaration for the press."

"You said 'we'..."

"Really, this is no longer necessary. Are you so stupid, that you do not understand the point at all?"

I understood.

However, right away I had to say: now they rob automobiles because of an idea. It seems, there is "restructuring" here as well...

For a long time I wondered: is talking about all this really necessary?

After all, people have been robbing automobiles for a long time, no sooner than they went into broad circulation and the demand for every possible automobile part started noticeably exceeding supply. This was also intensified by the fact that making cars turned out to be considerably easier than building garages or making parking lots. After all, today courtyards in many cities really have been clogged up with "personal transport," like mushrooms in a wet autumn. Not only have they learned to drive up to the stairwell areas—the approaches have head cover, and where they are wider, automobile fans long ago appropriated them for their own purposes, naively assuming that their treasure will not be subjected to plundering here. However, Gosavtoinspeksiya has other information: they rob nonetheless. And the further, the more energetically.

So, there is a problem. It is tedious, sticky, and somehow interminable in its endlessness.

However, a thief is always a thief.

Now, he plans to become a "people's avenger," a "protector of the surrounding micro-environment." Political temporization is a terrible thing.

Let me explain immediately.

It would never have crossed my mind to make an analogy between the telephone call from the alleged engineer Basters and the movement for preserving the surrounding environment, whose activists are truly unselfish, wholehearted people who have done a great

deal of useful work and made a real contribution toward mitigating the ecological situation, which had become noticeably aggravated over the last decade. This has been reported in many KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA articles, and it is hardly worth repeating them.

Even before this absurd telephone call to the editors from the alleged engineer Basters, and much later, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA has received many letters expressing serious, sometimes sharp and "uncomfortable" thoughts about why all sorts of movements, associations, groups, and initiatives have appeared, known by the single, very awkward term "informal," which—willingly or unwillingly—puts the initiative of the Karaganda physicians and Pavlodar ecologists at the same level as the highly questionable ideology of various "fronts," the banner colors of which it are sometimes hard to make out, even for those who hoisted them. Some run to open chauvinism, perceiving in every case the destructive activity of various kinds of freemasons, aimed against the Russian people; others—to nationalism, proclaiming a thesis of urgent self-isolation from other cultures and languages, right up to establishing state borders between republics and creating, in essence and in form, ethnic priorities even in everyday life; a third group has declared a "vote of mistrust in the Bolsheviks" and, consequently, is for revising decisively everything that has occurred in the country since October 1917; a fourth...

In the meaningless crowd of "fronts" being formed again and again, most often having neither doctrines, nor strategies, nor tactics (to use a military lexicon), eventually a formation like the "people's avengers," with its openly thievish nature, could not have helped but appear.

And who would exclude there not being some kind of fifth, sixth, or seventh group tomorrow? Political adventurists, as well as outright scoundrels, speculating in the slogans of democratization, glasnost and the activation of civil self-awareness, have reached for the pole bearing the flag of restructuring.

This situation evokes alarm and an active non-acceptance of adventurism on the people's part, and their fear that the ambitions of certain "front commanders-in-chief" are discrediting the idea itself of the social creativity of the masses and distracting people from solving really topical, vitally important problems.

"After reading A. Samoylenko's article in your newspaper about the popular front ("By 'Declaration' and By Essence," 17 November 1988.—Editors)," U. Abdramanov, senior scientific associate, Museum of Medicine, writes to KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA, "I am deeply troubled by the actions of its functionaries, and I consider opposition to the CPSU—and things are coming to this—to be intolerable. I have three children and I am concerned about their healthy future, about the

cleanliness of Alma-Ata's air. If these people are seriously worried about the same thing, let them actually work with the ecology and not engage in thinking up more new slogans. Please consider my opinion and rebuff Duvanov and other idlers through the newspaper. Restructuring will win!"

A very sensible thought.

The "fronters," however, do not share this viewpoint. Their task is the "theory of the problem," and their element is meetings and the kindling of passions. Let the crowd do the "dirty work," which makes muscles ache. "I am not a chicken, I do not lay eggs, but I know what eggs taste like." Very original logic, which a truly active person would scarcely accept.

When will we learn to treat the tasks of restructuring and the democratization of society seriously?

This is one of the most often repeated questions in the mail. Docent A. Kosubayev of Chimkent and senior teacher T. Baygabatov of Temirtay, for example, voice the following opinion. "Whereas before they "cut off the head" for unsanctioned initiative, now we are turning it into a farce." Furthermore, "it is a question of more serious things: is a Kazakh Popular Front for the struggle for restructuring necessary? The answer can only be simple. Furthermore, individuals well-known by everyone, genuine supporters of restructuring, competent, with a high political and professional culture, should join this front, not casual people, the more so extremists. They will be able to sweep aside private and group interests and personal ambitions. It should be joined by representatives of all nationalities living in Kazakhstan. It is not important, if it starts calling itself some kind of movement or another. It is important that it act in close contact with party and soviet agencies, in the name of common interests. It is incomprehensible, why they have not held such a universal forum to this day. Then, there would have been none of this confusion which the newspaper writes about."

A significant comment.

Restructuring has brought to life the active social creativity of a whole people, who have seen an opportunity to make their own contribution to renovating society in the political situation created by restructuring. Not just to economics, but, in far from last priority, to its mores, morality, and to everything that defines the essence of way of life. Millions of working people have switched over to its side, and today restructuring is no longer a "revolution from above," as it was in the first months after April 1985, but the work of the people themselves, who require coordination, order and management. However, people often try to pour new wine into old wine-skins—not always out of an understanding of the processes being created in society, but out of an inability to evaluate the social nature of things and phenomena. It has always been easier to forbid, than to understand and

direct initiative along a useful track. This misunderstanding evokes in the people a relapse of indifference, disillusionment with the changes which have begun, and doubt in the fact that restructuring will be carried through to the finish.

In this sense, the letter from Alma-Ata resident V. Klyupa is typical:

"You have the possibility of taking a film group and going to places, where in their day the departments and party and soviet agencies of the republic built residences, dachas, and hotels, and to show this on television to all of the working people, including the "popular front." Show what is there now, who is master, whose voices are heard there, whose hospital beds are those, and who sits in the saunas. Show how the simple people pack their shopping bags and give interviews at the previously closed stores and special depots. So, specifically on all matters: what, where, when. Behold! I am sure that downfall will be assured for the 'popular front.'"

In itself, Comrade Klyupa's idea is very interesting—"show on television to all the working people," what kind of changes have occurred in the republic after the 8th and last Kazakh CP Central Committee plenums, which took a steady course toward restoring social justice and creating a healthy moral atmosphere in the republic. Judging by the "temperature" of letters to the editors, the Central Committee's resolutions are not being interpreted correctly everywhere and by everyone, and are not always carried to their logical conclusion. After all, the "closed stores" remain open, for example, at the Frunzenskiy Rayon food trade center in Alma-Ata, where special services are given to people with the rank of deputy ministers and those equal to them. However, it probably would have been strange, if the deputies enjoyed a certain privilege, but the ministers themselves refused it. Most likely, this is why they should be discussed, since the readers thus raise the question.

Of course, socialism does not presume equalization. It is probably entirely normal that conditions should be created for the members of government (or to some extent, their deputies, such that they can perform their state duties without unnecessary fuss. However, the point lies elsewhere, although everyone, of course, has his own viewpoint: the ministers and their deputies have one viewpoint, and non-ministers and non-deputies have another. Yet, it should be unified, reflecting public opinion. Since it is a question of principle, there should be complete clarity here. Really, would it have been more difficult to create for members of the government and, if necessary, for others, the same kind of orders bureau as, for example, those that were organized for war veterans and other deserving people? Openly, however, with a list of conditions, etc. Closed silence gives rise to both fantasies and conjectures, and creates fertile soil for insinuations and the dissemination of all manner of disinformation.

G. Pashkina, a resident of Guryev, for example, advises looking more carefully at who receives passes to the "Kazakhstan" Health Resort (Yessentuki) and at the same time: "We would like the newspaper to write about the "Saryagach" Health Resort, built in 1984. They say, only employees of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers will vacation there; we stay in a building without conveniences, and they—in luxurious private rooms."

As they say in similar cases, the event never occurred—even before the start of restructuring in the republic. However, rumors about it continue to live, fueling the speeches of "front activists."

So it is that there are problems here, and Comrade Klyupa, of course, was right. However, after all, that is why the party started restructuring, in order to bring order throughout the Soviet house. However, this task interests all kinds of "fronts," like the "people's" and "democratic" ones, least of all; for them, any "negative" is only a means for kindling hysteria at meetings.

"They ought to be decisively rebuffed," Sh. Karimov, a war veteran from Guryev, writes to the editors. "They should be politicians, not quasi-politicians."

"I decisively speak out against the so-called 'popular front.'" This is the position of Alma-Ata resident N. Utepova. "How come its organizers have not asked me and people like me? It is we who are the people. We have born the burdens of war and the post-war restoration on our shoulders. It is not they, but we, who should judge which path to take. The party of communists reflects the working people's interests. Whose interests does the infamous "popular front" intend to protect? I want to ask our higher executive authority: Have we nothing better to do, than trying to persuade those who hinder our work? There is a wealth of work: we must raise the economy to a world level. But here we have sticks jammed in the wheels. I am with those activists who, with all the people, care about restructuring. We must help and support them. However, a final word must be said to those who already openly fight against us."

No, people are not really such naive simpletons, who can be attracted with a phrase. They understand that this democracy, i.e., the power of the people, is genuine in its meaning and purpose, and they know what demagogic, "servility before the people," is when people try to mislead them with lies and flattery.

What kind of rear, what kind of morality do "fronts," in which the "political hobby" of individual activists already begins to remind one somewhat of the principles of the "people's avengers," with their criminal practice, have? They have neither goals, nor some sort of logical program (the standard, specific postulate is "do not believe the bolsheviks"), they lack any interest in practical work, and have only ringing phrases. And this is in the name of the people.

"When a person does not know which haven he is heading for, not a single wind will be favorable for him."

The wise Seneca could not have been referring to the Kustanay teacher N. Fedoseyev, serviceman B. Daukenov, senior scientific associate at one of the republic Academy of Sciences institutes L. Sherov, and Kazakh Television Broadcasting employee S. Duvanov, whose names are mentioned from letter to letter in the editorial mail in a very unflattering context.

But he was a great prophet...

**Interethnic Problems Reflected in City's Life**  
*18300394 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 9 Feb 89 p 3*

[Article by N. Kistaubayev, secretary of the Tekeli party gorkom, Taldy Kurgansk oblast: "Roots and Crowns"]

[Text] The events of recent years in Alma-Ata, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and the Baltic republics, the problems of the Crimean Tatars, the propensity of a portion of the German population to emigrate, and much else have presented all too clear a picture of the complexities of ethnic life. Without overdramatizing the situation or casting doubt on the real historical community underlying the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, we must speak the truth about ethnic problems, as well as about the contradictions in interethnic relations. These problems must not be covered over and allowed to fester. Glasnost will provide the conditions needed for them to be solved democratically.

In a small city such as Tekeli it is possible to have greater openness in interpersonal relations, greater understanding, and mutual trust no matter what ethnic group are represented. A person's everyday life, his cares and interests are out in the open for all to see. And one cannot ignore the rather significant fact that the 30,000 people who inhabit our city belong to 55 nationalities and ethnic groups; one cannot ignore the history of their settlement here, their unique customs, traditions, languages, cultures, and faiths. Acknowledgment and respect for these things undoubtedly comprise the standards for interethnic relations. Such attitudes must be passed down from generation to generation, and be bred into the populace.

Has work to improve these relations been conducted in a cultured and skillful manner? What have been the results of this work? These questions have not been asked very frequently in the past. And why should they have been asked when we all, from the greatest to the least of us, were endeavoring to believe that "each one of us is welcome at the table, and everyone is rewarded accorded to his contribution," and that there was no other country where "man can breathe so free." But then the decree of the USSR Council of Ministers "On Amendments to the Regulations Governing Entering and Leaving the

USSR" went into effect and in the first year five families from our small city left for FRG. Last year, 17 left, and an equal number of additional exit documents are currently being processed.

The propensity of a portion of our German population to emigrate is not confined to Tekeli. First, we were given a very simple explanation for this: it was the doing of Western radio propaganda. It was demanded that counterpropaganda be intensified. But frequently the results of such propaganda were nil.

We interview everyone who has decided to emigrate from the USSR. These are no "renegades" or people who have been seduced by the promise of a "softer" life. No, the majority are honorable workers who know that they will not find "the tents of paradise." Mainly it is people of the older generation who are leaving, those who during Stalin's time suffered under the suspicion of being traitors, which was so detrimental to their human dignity, who lived through the "special resettlements," the harsh reality of the "armies of labor" and subsequently met with rebukes and suspicions in their everyday dealings with others. However, it is not these old wounds that are causing them to leave. Their hearts have not harbored a grudge for the injustice they endured. Many other nationalities have gone through this, Koreans, Chechens, Ingush, Turks and Kurds, Western Ukrainians, Belorussians, and people of other ethnic groups. All of them have long since been rehabilitated, and it would seem that justice has been restored. And with the roots of a single tree they grew into the earth, providing shelter during hard times.

But stagnation led to other injustices. Those who did not have their own states or ethnic territories or who found themselves outside the borders of their ethnic homelands lost their ethnic identity, their languages, cultures, customs, and traditions. At the time it occurred this did not lead to anxiety. Today we need a deep analysis of the actual processes of development of ethnic groups and interethnic relations. The famous decree of the CPSU Central Committee concerning the work of our republic's party organizations on interethnic and patriotic education of workers has caused us to see reality differently. Today we are reaping the fruit of incompetent, formalistic bureaucratic bungling in a very delicate area. A monolithic friendship among peoples was declared, praises were sung of equal rights for citizens no matter what ethnic group they belonged to, and yet at the same time one group was often given preference over another when it came to selecting cadres, acceptance into the party, awarding of prizes, and the like.

Perestroyka, democratization, and glasnost have given us the courage to speak honestly about the wrong turnings that were taken in ethnic policy. At the gorkom plenum, meetings of the party and economic activists, and at a practical seminar on interethnic relations held in our city, we have succeeded in identifying a circle of problems the solution to which should lead to greater

harmony and satisfaction of the cultural needs of various ethnic groups. The time has come to affirm in deeds, as well as words, equal rights for all ethnic groups.

As has already been mentioned, members of 55 ethnic groups live in Tekeli. Until recently only a little more than one third of these were represented in the city party organization. Given this ethnic distribution of communists, it was natural to have distortions in cadre policy as well. Among the managers with party appointments in the gorkom, only eight ethnic groups were represented. And there was also little ethnic diversity in the nominating committees. This could not help but engender dissatisfaction and be felt as a manifestation of injustice. One also has to reckon with the fact that people took offense, even when it was not justified, when they suspected that prestigious work or other benefits were being distributed on the basis of ethnic considerations. This is the explanation for the marked recent tendency for ethnic groups to segregate themselves, to migrate to areas where their groups are most densely represented.

These problems are serious, and they have not yet been studied. In particular, ethnic self-consciousness was considered a manifestation of group egoism or, still worse, nationalism. And yet it should have been understood that if Germans, Koreans, or Turks lose their language, culture, traditions, or customs, they lose their national spirit. Loss of one's native language is becoming a sad tradition. At the same time, almost all our questionnaires ask people to give their native language. Is it appropriate to ask this of a young person who, through no fault of his own, has nothing native to call his own, aside from the bare fact of belonging to one or another ethnic group. The issue of German children studying their language (which has ceased to be native) in school is evidently just as complex. It is the literary language which is taught everywhere, while for practical purposes the local German population needs to know the language of communication; that is, the local dialect which has been spoken by more than one generation. At the same time, journals, newspapers, and radio programs are in the accepted high German dialect. For this reason the problem of native language for local Germans cannot be solved so easily.

This is an even more complex issue for Koreans, Turks, Kurds and other ethnic groups. Their languages are not taught at all in cities such as ours where there are only small groups of these nationalities. Furthermore, there are no teachers, textbooks, phrase books, dictionaries, or any other materials to help them learn their languages on their own.

These are the sort of complex, not so easily soluble, problems that were disclosed when we delved into the reasons for the "discomfort" of ethnic daily life. It would be incorrect to say that ways and means to solve these problems cannot be found, but it is true that they cannot be considered in isolation from social and economic problems. For this reason, first we concentrated

on a strong social policy. A number of multifaceted programs are being developed simultaneously in our city, "Housing-91," "Health," "School," "Care," "Autonomous Food Supply." It should be said that appreciable progress is being made in all these social areas. Last year, more than twice as many apartments were built than in 1985. During this same period, consumption of meat increased by 20 kilograms per city resident. Consumer services improved.

And yet one must confess that the personal level of interethnic relations is more important. At the level of everyday consciousness, many people are prone to interpret any social injustice or lack of consideration in ethnic terms. This cannot be ignored. The party gorkom has had to take a stern view of the disgraceful examples of indifference to people and their spiritual needs that have occurred in certain collectives. For example, for many years V. Tsingler, a worker in the power plant, applied to various levels of the hierarchy in an attempt to obtain the preferential pension she had been allotted. Only intervention of party organs cut through the red tape. The callousness of our medical personnel roused mine worker Tekeli T. Karimov to fury. And what is there to say about the thoughtlessness of the administration and social organizations of the brick plant in their treatment of veteran of labor R. Izbrekht, whom they not only forgot to thank for 27 years of work at that enterprise, but failed even to invite to the ceremony marking the retirement of pensioners?

This is simple (i.e., not ethnically motivated) thoughtlessness, but people draw their own conclusions from it. This is why when the gorkom bureau checks the qualifications of leaders at every level, they attempt to ascertain whether they have the qualities necessary to maintain a healthy moral and psychological climate in the work group and to treat each worker with consideration.

During the last 2 years we have succeeded in improving ethnic diversity among the heads of cadres and also within the staffs of the gorkom, gorispolkom and nominating committees. The reserve contains representatives of a greater number of ethnic groups. This is not our ordinary campaign [for ethnic diversity], but special goal directed work. At the same time we are developing a multiethnic working class which is being replenished with representatives of the Kazakh, Uighur, and Korean ethnic groups.

The most difficult of our tasks will be providing opportunities for one or another ethnic community to meet its cultural needs, especially in the areas of education, communication, folk arts, and religious requirements. We are not experienced enough in such matters and have not yet hit upon the means to solve these problems. And this is not true of our city alone. We rest our hopes on aid from the Commission on Ethnic Groups and Interethnic

Relations, the recently formed republic social and political Center for Propaganda for Leninist Ethnic Policy, and the Center for Interethnic Relations of the Kazakhstan Academy of Sciences.

To the best of its ability, the city party organization is attempting to find nontraditional work structures, and to move away from the stereotyped patterns of the past. The party gorkom has a political discussion group, "Reserve," where future leaders of enterprises and organizations consider issues relating to the party's Leninist ethnic policy in depth, so as to apply theory to practical work. For a long time party workers had to rely primarily on intuition when it came to ethnic policies. A resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conferences requires radical reevaluation of the relationship of party organizations to work to develop the internationalist consciousness of the masses and stipulates that interethnic issues must be dealt with, not on a case to case basis, but systematically without sensationalism or ostentation.

It cannot be denied that in the past our attempts to educate the populace on these issued have contained a good measure of this excessive and unjustified solemnity. And yet these attempts did not have any particular effect. The inhabitants of our city were more willing to accept such measures (although currently these are still just one-time events) as the friendship celebration held on Constitution Day last year. Representatives of various ethnic groups were given the opportunity to acquaint city inhabitants with their unique cultures—folk arts, ceremonies, rituals, and national dishes. And in the future we must create conditions allowing all ethnic groups and nationalities to satisfy their cultural needs. We will have to think seriously about how this can best be done. There is one more thought I would like to share. Without abandoning our position of scientific atheism, why not reconsider our attitudes toward certain aspects of religion? Why not combine forces to instill common human values, and develop the spiritual side of Soviet citizens. The celebration of the millennium of the acceptance of Christianity by old Russia, and the subsequent events in the nation, in which the church participated, has demonstrated that we can develop a productive, useful collaboration with respect to various aspects of social and community life. Lutheran and Baptist churches have [recently] registered in our city. An announcement has been made by the faithful concerning the opening of a Russian Orthodox Church. We think that the maximally broad application of constitutional rights of freedom of conscience, like other human rights, will serve to further improve interethnic relations.

The Great October Revolution proclaimed the equality of people of all national and ethnic groups of the country. Awareness of this should instill in our people a feeling of human worth. The Kazakh writer, Mukhtar Shakhanov put it well: "Each person must have four roots, like four mothers: his native land, his native language, his native culture and his native history. When you love your root

and value it, you understand the pain and love of everyone and everything, and you acquire the same feeling for another land, another language, another culture and another history."

I think that the same could be said about the reason for developing cultured interethnic relations in the populace.

#### Drug, Alcohol Education Urged for Tajik Youth

18000391 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
26 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Tajik SSR Distinguished Cultural Worker T. Karatygina: "A Cruel Retribution"]

[Text] When they showed her newborn child to her she recoiled in horror and screened off the infant with both hands. The doctors looked upon her hands and her hardened, damaged veins with bitterness and pity, for they were spotted with needle marks. On the third day she disappeared from the maternity home altogether. And the infant, who was not even fated to see its mother, was sent to the Dushanbe Children's Home, which is the fate of children doomed to tragedy by their parents.

It's an ordinary play-pen—with brightly colored toys, balls and dolls. The poor little tykes play, they prattle, they embrace one another, and they squabble—as if they were ordinary kids. But their looks are a bit strange, their movements uncoordinated, and their speech confused and thick. Ola Filon, Olesa Kolsenik and Farkhad Bobodzhanov are going on five years old, but they weren't expected to live more than two years.

"You had to see what they looked like when they came to us," relates Children's Home Director Marguba Umarova. "We nursed them together, we brought them through dysentery and chronic infections; we treated them with physical therapy and massages, and we developed their speech. And they began to speak only in their third year—and that was reward enough for us."

"Well, as for their mothers and fathers? Do they visit their children? Do they understand their responsibility and their guilt?"

"They do not deserve such high titles as Mother and Father," protests Marguba Anvarovna. "What can you expect of them? They walk out of the narcotics addiction dispensary—and right away they are back at their old ways. A two-month old girl, Ira, came to us—extremely emaciated. Not even the latest medicines were of help. We contacted the narcotics addiction dispensary and asked them to send the mother for the child's funeral. They sent her, but she never reached us. She met up with her old companions—and that was that. And another time, we had just begun treating little two-year-old Niso Lavlyatova. Her mother came to see her, took the child out for a walk—and did not come back. But a few days later, she abandoned her daughter at our gates."

While Marguba Anvarovna told her tale, the children were gazing at us from the playpen. We took the frightening emptiness of their looks as a severe accusation: an accusation against their parents—whose uncomprehending children are paying for their passion for alcohol and narcotics. An accusation against all of us, who did not until now realize the misfortune going on around us, who did not until now arouse the entire community to struggle with it.

I had visited this home about 15 years ago. At that time they were caring for children who had been orphaned, or given up by their mother and father for a time, owing to some kind of extreme circumstances—a tragedy or an illness, or the death of one of the parents. The children had, with rare exceptions, no psychological problems whatsoever. Their fate was decided in different ways, but on the whole altogether favorably—they would either return to their parents or would get a new family. Since that time the Children's Home has changed so much it is unrecognizable. True, the very same doctors and caregivers are still there—heroes in their own right. But their patients have become different. There are thick volumes of case histories and weighty diagnoses: oligophrenia, microcephaly, hydrocephaly, and postnatal encephalopathy... As terrible as it is to say it—the future of such children is clear: all the medicine in the world will not cure their mental retardation, the cause of which lies in their pathological inheritance.

Young men and women often have no concept whatsoever of the irreparable evil they can bring upon their future offspring from playing around with alcohol and narcotics. In a narcotic stupor and drunkenness, all concepts of morality, ethics, and duty evaporate; and casual contacts occur, which are just as easily broken off. And if one even manages to speak with such parents, here's what you hear:

"But we didn't know that it would have such an effect on the children!"

"We didn't know," "They didn't warn us..." is the wildest kind of social infantilism. But that, like the unforgiveable ignorance of the young people in understanding the chief purpose of mankind—to provide a healthy life for healthy offspring—is that not a reproach upon ourselves, the community of people, medics, teachers, and all who bring up the young people and are responsible for the youth, their moral and physical health, and their spiritual qualities?

Thousands and thousands of young people are studying in the upper grades of general educational schools, in vocational-technical schools, teknikums and VUZ's. They learn a great many and various things that are indisputably useful and important. But only an insignificant amount of time is devoted to giving the young people, future mothers and fathers, information that is absolutely necessary for them, on the direct association of their moral and physical chastity and the health of

their future children; of the price one pays for addiction to alcohol and narcotics. Today—for tomorrow may be too late—the young people must know this; they must become familiar with the scientific research on the affects of alcohol and narcotics on their offspring. At the Tajik SSR Health Ministry's Scientific Research Institute on Protecting Motherhood and Childhood, I was given the following information: up to 37 percent of children from alcoholic parents are born with birth defects—and 16 percent are stillborn.

After a long period of hushing up the problem we have finally realized and understood: the most urgent measures are required to struggle with this evil. We are already doing some things. A special course, "Ethics of Family Life," has been introduced in the schools. But these are only the first steps, and are still a long way from genuine, active and forward moving work along all avenues of working with young people, designed for visibility.

Certain super-cautious people consider such propaganda shocking; they say that it is not proper to describe the terrible consequences of narcotics and toxic substance addiction. This, they say, has an adverse effect on our sensitive young people and only aggravates the problem.

No! We cannot hide our heads under our wings like an ostrich at a time of danger! Out of the total number of known narcotics addicts and toxic substance abusers in our republic, 70 percent are young people... The slogan, "narcotics are nasty" is not convincing for young men and women, who love high feelings. And it is completely useless to admonish in this way those who are corrupting the juveniles.

**Tobacco Harvesting Harmful to Women, Children  
18300424 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKSTANA  
in Russian 3 Feb 89 p 3**

[Article by I. Melentev, special official doctor for the Soviet Children's Fund imeni Lenin, chief specialist, USSR Ministry of Health, candidate of medical sciences: "Nicotine Children, or What Kind of 'Labor Education' is Provided by Tobacco Plantations"]

[Text] So, the republic's tobacco growers have finished another season and have cut and delivered the state a fairly good harvest of tobacco leaves. Kolkhoz farmers have received their income. For inhabitants of Aininskiy and Pendzhikentskiy rayons in Leninabad Oblast, this annual process has become as customary and natural as the campaign to grow and harvest cotton, the main crop in Central Asia is for a large part of the rural population in Tadzhikistan.

In recent years there has been somewhat of a decline in the talk and applause honoring the "white gold", as it has become known that there are negative aspects in the growing and harvest of this crop, which has gradually displaced other ones grown for centuries by Tajik peasants.

It is intolerable to replace other agricultural products by a monoculture. People are gradually noticing this replacement in the stores, bazaars and in their own pockets. However, if it is pondered soon enough, there will be time to correct these dislocations.

It will be much harder to correct the spiritual dislocations which have appeared in recent decades due to the massive use of students and pupils in agricultural work. How does one make up for gaps in young people's education if one-fifth of the time for study is spent in field work? For pupils in rural areas it is sometimes even more. There has been no answer to this question. Therefore, a recent initiative in our republic—preventing the sending of students and pupils out to do agricultural work, must be considered a very important state act to radically improve public education.

However, the most serious harm, which will be difficult to correct, has been and is being caused to the health of the rural population (primarily children) by improper agricultural operations. The most vivid example of this was the prolonged use of highly toxic Butifos as a cotton defoliant. After 20 years of using this poison in cotton production, the year before last its use was finally forbidden in the USSR. However, this autumn, one could smell the sweet odor of the chemical, which some farmers secretly used for more effective defoliation.

Today I want to explain how tobacco growing and harvesting affects the health of people, especially children. The press has already examined tobacco growers' heavy and harmful working conditions, the use of pregnant and nursing mothers and minor children as plantation labor. It was justly pointed out that not a single agency in Tajikistan has studied the influence of tobacco on women and children, therefore, nobody knows the precise picture.

It is known that harmful products from tobacco production cause pathological changes in certain functions of the female organism and retard physiological development. Such women bear low weight hypotrophic children and there is a much greater chance of miscarriage. Also, tobacco workers suffer more frequently from general toxicological and allergic symptoms on the skin, eyes, respiratory organs, digestive and other important systems.

We analyzed some figures from official medical statistics for 1987, comparing certain zones in Pendzhikentskiy Rayon, where almost the entire population works on tobacco plantations. For comparison, we use some health indicators for children during their first year of

life in one area along the mighty Zeravshan River. They grew up in similar climate and social conditions. The only difference is that the parents of some are employed in growing tobacco, while those of others are not.

In the oblast 6.3 percent of children less than one year old are hypotrophic, that is, they weigh 20 percent less than average. In Pendzhikentskiy Rayon this figure is 8.4 percent, (one-third higher). While in Chimkurgan and Amondara, tobacco growing villages, 6 and 8 percent of children are hypotrophic (it is even higher in other villages), in Kolkhozchiene it is only 0.9 percent, lower than the average figure for the rayon by almost a factor of 10!

The average rate of rickets among children less than 1 year old in the oblast is 2.6 percent. In Pendzhikentskiy Rayon it is 4.2 percent. In tobacco growing Amondara it is even higher, while in "tobacco free" Kolkhozchiene there was not a single case during the year (all data are for 1987).

In our view these data quite convincingly show the significant difference between the incidence of disease in young children in those zones where tobacco is grown and those where it is not.

We compared infant mortality indicators for these same villages in August and September 1987 (the tobacco harvest season). In Amondara it was higher than in Kolkhozchiene, by 80 percent in September and 88 percent in August. In general, the annual infant mortality rate in 1987 in Kolkhozchiene was half that of Amondara and in Chimkurgan, and lower than in Yeri by a factor of 2.4.

Undoubtedly, it is necessary to more thoroughly study the relationship between the growing of tobacco and the disease and mortality rate among children. However, these figures clearly show that in those cases where no tobacco is grown there are much fewer complications in maternity and infancy.

In 1988 in Ayninskiy Rayon 5,480 people were growing and processing tobacco by the family contract method, while in Pendzhikentskiy Rayon 8,978 people were. Family links always include not only adults, but also children, as it is impossible to get along without the latter's help in a laborious operation such as tobacco growing. According to very rough calculations, about 80 percent of the entire population in these rayons is, to some extent, involved in growing tobacco, beginning with pupils and adults working on tobacco plantations and ending with breast fed infants and their working mothers in the suffocating conditions of tobacco drying sheds.

Even though the law forbids children to work in a harmful sector of agriculture such as tobacco growing, a survey conducted last autumn by Oblzdravotdel [Oblast health department] jointly with the Oblast Procuracy shows that the law is violated everywhere.

Two minor daughters of N. Nasridinov were harvesting tobacco in the field brigade No. 18 at the "Leningrad" Kolkhoz in Pendzhikentski rayon; R. Gaybnazarov, a kolkhoz farmer, brought his 10 year old son to work in the tobacco harvest. Dzhamagul and Bustonaya Kattaboyevy, sisters at the secondary school No. 24 harvested tobacco together with their parents. They skipped classes that day, and do it often, even though they are not doing well at school. What can one say about the children of kolkhoz farmers, when, at brigade No. 4 in the Kolkhoz imeni 22nd Party Congress, the minor children of two teachers, D. Boymuradova and M. Alimkulova, were working in the harvest.

On 29 September practically all the workers were women and children, including pregnant women and five nursing mothers with infants, at the field camp of Brigade No. 6, Zeravshan Kolkhoz located next to the tobacco plantation and the leaf drying areas. In addition to babies being breast fed, there were at least 12 preschool children and as many pupils. Kolkhoz managers hypocritically claim that here children simply "play after school", however, in fact all these women and children live in the field camp around the clock for several weeks.

At the same time, the seasonal kindergarten at the Zeravshan Kolkhoz, designed for 49 children, only had 15 that day, even though it is located not far from the field camp. With only small variations, a similar picture is observed in practically all farms in Pendzhikentskiy and Ayninskiy rayons.

It must be noted, that in addition to the direct effects upon humans caused by components of tobacco (nicotine, essential oils, various tars, etc) there are also serious effects from BI-58 (phosphamide) an organophosphorus insecticide used in tobacco growing.

Here is an interesting detail. In the *List of Agents in the Struggle against Plant Pests Authorized for Use in Agriculture* (published by Selkhozkhimiya Publishing House in 1987), this compound is classified as average toxicity, while in the *Pesticide Handbook* published 13 years later, it is among the highly toxic. In any case, present instructions state that after processing tobacco with a 40 percent solution of BI-58, tobacco workers are not to go out in the fields within 4 days, and in some cases this should be extended to 30 days. However, neither rank and file kolkhoz workers nor farm managers know about this.

There is a general slow and systematic poisoning of the population in tobacco growing regions both by the tobacco itself and by the toxic chemicals used to grow it. Also, water in canals and ditches is used to wash tobacco leaves, while downstream it is used for drinking.

In recent years acute poisoning on tobacco plantations has been noticed somewhat. But who would dare say that chronic poisoning is better than acute or that the increase in gastro-intestinal disturbances among children during the autumn is not linked to the tobacco harvest?

For the sake of justice it should be noted that managers of party and soviet organs in tobacco growing regions are concerned about the situation. There is not a single farm that forces women and children to work with tobacco. Moreover, a planned reduction in tobacco planting has begun. In 1987 2,650 hectares were planted to tobacco in Pendzhikentskiy Rayon, while in 1988, 2,357 were. Reductions are also planned for 1989.

At the Pendzhikentskiy RAPO a specific and precise "Plan of Measures to Radically Improve Working Conditions in Tobacco Growing" has been compiled for 1988-1990. Many of its points are being implemented. The most important point, "the categorical forbidding of pregnant women and minor children to work in the tobacco harvest," is not being observed everywhere. The main reason for this is that the population itself has a great material interest in growing as much tobacco as possible, as it is kolkhoz farmers' main source of income. In this situation the advantages of family and brigade contradict the health of the growing generation.

It will take more time before the managers of tobacco farms fully recognize the advantages of viticulture and truck farming over tobacco not only with regard to profitability, but to public health, something which is very much more important.

As long as people have to grow tobacco it will be necessary to take strict measures to enforce the law on preventing minor child, pregnant and nursing mothers from doing this work.

There is no need to place hopes only upon the procuracy and the sanitary and epidemiological service, which have the right to take strict measures to punish the guilty. Educational work, which should be conducted by everyone (from rank and file medical and school workers to managers at all levels), must create an atmosphere in which every kolkhoz farmer clearly recognizes that a person's main wealth is health.

#### Self-Immolation Still Practiced by Women in Uzbekistan

18300420 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
15 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by R. Gaydarova and V. Karimov, PRAVDA VOSTOKA correspondents: "Living Torches"]

[Text] "There she is, in this room... Come in."

The doctor stood beside the only bed there: look, ask... But what kind of interview it was! In our experience, there has never been briefer or more bitter conversation than this one. Only 3 days ago, that which was hidden under bandages swollen with blood and ointment, was a healthy, living 22-year old woman. The fire spared only her eyes, from which tears ran out.

How did this happen, Mukhaye?..

"I lived with my husband... for 4 years. We had no children. I underwent medical treatment. But he divorced me..."

That was it. Ten words—that was her whole life. However, why whole?! What kind of deadlock of perpetuity must one drive a life into, so as not to see any light ahead. She splashed solvent on herself and lit a match. No one raised a hand—there was no one around: she and her husband lived alone. No one... But where were we, people... What are we, people?..

We closed the door to the room behind us with the feeling of people, who have heard a last confession...

These 10 words of confession, which were unbearably painful the whole time we were on this trip, weighed the abundance of words which other people have spent in "analyzing the self-immolation problem."

Let us recall that about a year ago PRAVDA VOSTOKA reprinted an article from a Samarkand Oblast newspaper, LENINSKIY PUT. The author of the article, "Dramatic Women of Fate," is head of the burn center at Samarkand City Hospital No 1, Erkin Zakhidovich Gafarov, whose civic courage deserves great respect. At the time, he had to write down his bitter conclusions from his many years of experience at the burn center, where they brought women in hopeless condition. "There is nothing more terrible in our situation, when you see the dreadful suffering of young women and cannot help them..." The patient at the time was Muzaffar Dzhabbarova, mother of three children, a worker at the "Bagizagan" Sovkhoz in Samarkandskiy Rayon. "I was simply tired of living..." she told a doctor. She did not ask them to save her. Fortunately, she survived and is alive today, working and raising children.

The article sparked broad interest and an abundance of letters to the editor, including a letter from A.I. Kryukova of Tashkent, who asked: "Find out what was done in Samarkand Oblast, so that this will not be repeated any more..."

A year passed—enough time to rely on statistics and draw conclusions. But the question "What was done?" is still heard in the administrative offices of Samarkand and the oblast.

"At first everything was taken up with energy, ardently," says E.Z. Gafarov. "Competent commissions went out and gathered every case. The members were rayon and oblast leaders, lawyers, and deputies. They even went to the enterprises. I remember how the women at the Factory imeni 8 March listened to us with such attention and understanding. But the campaign slowed down. The oblast House of Sanitation Education had conceived of a lecture series, and then it was forgotten. Society was not informed about what was done after each tragic case—who was punished, held criminally accountable. Neither the newspapers nor radio took this mission upon themselves. Mainly, I want to say that the absence of a system for preventing cases of self-immolation is depressing. The measures surrounding each emergency are reduced to verification. But the burn room, as you see, does not stay empty..."

Yes, so to speak, firsthand information. Let us support these ideas with statistics. In Samarkand Oblast, 52 women attempted self-immolation in 1988. Twenty-five died in the hospital. The rest remained cripples. Their lives scarcely became happier, regardless of this terrible form of protest. Protest, but against what? Who, for example, was assigned to study the causes of this deformed phenomenon in Samarkandskiy Rayon, with its chronic self-immolation statistics?

"How are we to know," Ya.T. Turdyev, Samarkandskiy Rayon prosecutor, expressed his general opinion. "We are unable to answer what the overall cause is today. We sit here and think..."

The prosecutor's fruitless thoughts can be facilitated somewhat: according to the same data, which, incidentally, are available to the prosecutor as well, in 17 cases the tragic outcome occurred due to family quarrels with the husband.

"Kimmat Rizakulova, 51 years old, 11 children, unable to endure systematic beatings and insults from her husband, immolated herself with tractor fuel..." "Zukhro Siddikova, 38 years old, 8 children, having failed to withstand the constant mockery of her husband, drenched herself in tractor fuel and immolated herself..." "Saida Ismoilova, 29 years old, 4 children, drenched herself in kerosene after a typical quarrel with her husband. She died of burns in the hospital..."

Perhaps these were all simply uneducated women? No, the overwhelming share, 29 people, had a secondary education. Twelve had an incomplete secondary education. Their age is in a staggering range: from 77 years old—to 14!

These figures, even simply being named, call for study—biased and rapid, inasmuch as this is possible.

However, a year has gone by and the infamous cases of tragedy have not become an object of study either for the Samarkand Party Obkom Buro, or for the bureos of most

rayon party committees. In the course of a year, true, this question was touched on by the Samarkand Party Raykom Buro. However, the aspiration to single out social reasons in the reasons for self-immolation did not receive proper development and was not molded into a goal-oriented program, although some things were done. The rayispolkom worked to bring to light unfortunate families. The problem was partly solved by allocating land plots for 1,500 families for the construction of housing and 400 apartments. A comprehensive plan was drafted for developing settlements. Standard schools are being built at fairly high rates.

However, none of this has solved the acute social problems in the rayon. One indicator of the trouble: only 29 percent provision with children's preschool institutions. The employment of women is low. One-half of mothers with more than one child suffer from anemia. Add to this the fact that the problems of providing the kishlaks with plumbing, gas, construction of improved roads, etc. are still far from being solved.

So, we must structure ideological work with virtuosity and intelligence against this highly unfavorable social background! But, alas, even now a course, a method in ideological practice, has not been found which would be able to penetrate the high wall into the closed world of the outmoded, semi-feudal laws of many families. Unfortunately, the evenings and meetings, successfully held on the initiative of recently formed women's councils, the propaganda brigade speeches, etc., have not become a panacea for self-immolation. "Individual work is probably necessary all the same...", the rayon fathers think unhurriedly. Although there is positive experience scattered throughout the kishlak soviets and settlements (for example, in a section of the Gulbag "Komsomol" Kolkhoz, where there has not been a single case of self-immolation thanks to the fact that rural doctors, teachers, Makhalin committees, and deputies have taken each family into account and are doing a great deal of preventative work), all these fragments have not become a program for work.

Tragedies have also been handled irresponsibly in Ishtykhanskiy Rayon. Precisely this rayon drew attention to itself because of the jump in the number of self-immolations in 1988—11 cases, when there had not been a single one the year before. How can this alarming explosion in Ishtykhanskiy Rayon be explained? The party raykom held a roundtable meeting, and virtually everyone who attended expressed himself: A.I. Istamov, party raykom first secretary, B. Mamarasulov, ideological department chief, A.R. Sanayev, rayispolkom chairman, A.U. Uralov, rayon prosecutor, and others. Yet, they still did not come to constructive conclusions. The statements made, "It seems, we are sluggish," "The deputies are probably still working poorly," "Possibly, individual work is necessary..." etc., bore the same stamp: "Presumably, desirably".... Where is the analysis of the emergency situation which has taken shape? Where are the alleged outlines for a program to prevent such tragic events?

It is entirely obvious that the lull of previous years, which hardly spoke of well-being, has weakened the ideological aktiv.

Moods are calm in the rayon soviet as well. "We have no one working on it—neither the soviets, nor the party committees," the rayon prosecutor stated in a speech, by way of revelation. "Is this why the dynamics of self-immolation is increasing? The cases are scandalous: Recently, a 6th grade student, Z. Allamuratova, immolated herself. Due to humane considerations, we closed the case: the step-father, who brought her to this state, still had 8 children to feed and raise..."

REFERENCE: Of 11 similar cases in Ishtykhanskiy Rayon, eight have been closed. Of 52 cases in the oblast, the institution of criminal proceedings was refused in 37.

We addressed a question raised by our readers to B.S. Urdashev, chief, Samarkand Party Obkom Ideological Department.

"I have been heading the department for slightly over a month," answered Bakhtiyer Sultanovich. "I think that these problems should be solved at the profound analysis level: sociological studies and surveys of social opinion. There will be extensive diagnostics. We intend to include the self-immolation problem in the department's plans as a priority..."

That day, 25 January, at 5:00 A.M. 22-year old Mukhaye Turdyyeva died in the burn center room...

**Readers Criticize Census-Taking Methods**  
*18000879 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 12 Mar 89 p 2*

[“The Census Was Taken...”; under the rubric: “From the Mail”]

[Text] I want to share my impressions of the census that has just been taken. This pertains to the portion of the census that dealt with designation of one's native language.

My fiancee came over. I asked her "What did you put down as your native language?" In response, she told me how the census "was taken".

[Census Taker] "Did you finish Russian school?"

[My fiancee] "Russian".

[Census Taker] "So, we'll put down Russian as your native language...."

It seems that if a Belorussian, Armenian or a Tatar finish school where the course of instruction is given in Russian, then their native language is not at all that which is spoken by the people.

It would be interesting to know who gave these instructions and with what purpose? Not only will the results of such a census distort reality, but people will be provoked into subsequent falsification in relation to such concepts as conscience, civic honesty and patriotism.

Ye. Rutkovskiy, Engineer

City of Smorgon

From the Editor: The editorial office has received a great number of complaints in regard to similar occurrences during the census taking. Some census takers "did not get to" the people, some set down census information "at will," and others took all the information from ZhES [probably ZhEK, housing operation offices, was intended—FBIS] house registers. We hope that the BSSR Goskomstat will give an explanation for these occurrences.

#### Dairy Products Cause Large-Scale Illness in Ukraine

18110085 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
19 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by L. Alekseyeva: "The Cause is Irresponsibility"]

[Text] Voroshilovgrad, 18 March (RADYANSKA UKRAYINA correspondent). Large-scale poisoning resulting from the consumption of dairy products occurred in the oblast center and in the neighboring town of Lutugino. The cause of the poisoning is attributed to poor quality items produced by Voroshilovgrad Dairy Factory No. 1 and especially the sour cream packaged in polyethylene containers.

According to information provided by A.V. Kasyanov, chief of the oblispolkom, 227 people including 93 children were stricken in Voroshilovgrad, and in Lutugino 27 people were taken ill. All those suffering from dysentery have been hospitalized. Specialists from the Voroshilovgrad medical institute and the republic's Ministry of Health are treating the victims.

This extraordinary situation need not have occurred if the dairy factory had not violated technological and basic sanitary standards. The oblast agro-industrial committee has apologized to the victims and their families.

Director of the factory Z.M. Mukasyeyev and G.V. Kruzhulin, general director of the production association of the dairy industry, have been fired.

Crimminal charges in the matter have been filed by the procurator's office.

#### Press Conference Held On Chernobyl's Health Effects

18110080 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian  
7 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by V. Skoropadska: "Chernobyl: the Medical Aspects"]

[Text] A press conference was held at the UkSSR Ministry of Health. UkSSR Deputy Minister of Health Yu. P. Spizhenko conducted the press conference. Organizers of the press conference talked about the great amount of work done in liquidating the after-effects of the disaster and dwelt upon the problems which remain to be solved. There are a number of territories in Kiev and Zhitomir oblasts whose areas are especially effected with an increased level of contamination. These are foremost several populated areas in Narodichskiy rayon in Zhitomir Oblast and Polesskiy rayon in Kiev Oblast. Consequently, it is certainly understandable that it is in these very zones that the chief decontamination work is concentrated and regular radiological checks of all manners of foodstuffs is conducted.

It was noted at the conference that according to medical observations conducted from 1987 to 1988, of 260,000 people examined during health clinic checks, 62 percent were pronounced healthy. There was no increase noted in cancer or birth defect rates. Of the remaining number, 38 percent recovered in outpatient clinics, hospitals and sanatoriums.

The findings of specialists revealing an insignificant increase in oncopathologies in Narodichskiy rayon are attributed to the aging population as well as the detailed medical examination of elderly people who had previously not been examined in health clinics. All children who live in the above-mentioned territories are being held under observation. In the time since the accident at the Chernobyl AES the situation has considerably improved.

**Meetings Held to Protest Raising of Estonian National Flag**

*18000690 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 pp 1, 3*

[ETA report: "Who Does Not Like Independence Day"]

[Text] Admitting one's mistakes and restoring historical justice is always a painful process, and it comes hard: for one thing, because of the necessity of smashing one's established views and convictions; for another, because of the lack of knowledge; third, out of a reluctance to look truth in the eye; and fourth, simply because it is not advantageous to them. And that is why the celebration of Estonian Independence Day on 24 February, which has taken the form of a great and very important event in the life of the republic, was not greeted with understanding by everyone, and not everyone found it to their taste. And what is characteristic, among those for whom this holiday was not so pleasing, some people and organizations had nothing in common with one another; for example, Intermovement [Interdvizhenie] and the National Independence Party. Such reaction once again confirms that extremes always close ranks in their demonstrations against common sense and against the interests of those whom they profess to defend.

Let us ask ourselves, to whose advantage were the provocative appeals at the Intermovement meeting, and the openly hostile slogans on Ratushnaya Square; and finally, the overt provocation at the Elektrotekhnika Scientific Production Association? Behind every one of them stand the forces striving to hinder that turn for the better which has been noted in the life of the republic since the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, which already has put down a difficult road for itself. "Divide and Rule!" This obsolete slogan was taken up by those who are trying to hold out in the political arena with old baggage.

**The Intermovement Meeting**

An Intermovement meeting was held in Tallinn on 23 February, which is officially dedicated to Soviet Army-Navy Day.

The Intermovement activists who spoke at the meeting, which included war veterans, expressed their concern about the changes taking place in the republic. Specifically, the opinion was stated that the lowering of the state flag at Dlinnyy German and replacing it with the national tricolor is an insult to the memory of those who gave their lives for the establishment of Soviet rule in Estonia; and that this is yet another proof of the political course taken in the republic, of discrimination against the non-indigenous populace. Certain clauses in the Law on Language were held up to criticism as well: in the opinion of the speakers they trample on the rights of the Russian-speaking populace of Estonia.

Certain speeches were blatantly extremist in character, and were full of such expressions as "creeping counter-revolution," and "attempted coup d'etat by peaceful means." Appeals for strikes rang out, and lack of faith in the leading organs of the republic was expressed.

(Similar statements by Intermovement activists were also heard at the recent meeting of the Council representatives from OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives], which today is comprised of collectives from 140 enterprises. However, their calls for holding political actions on 22 and 24 February were not supported by the republic United Council of Labor Collectives, and were regarded as provocative and incompetent.)

The participants in the meeting, and there were fewer than a thousand, adopted a resolution by majority vote, expressing support of only that part of the Appeal of the Estonian CP Central Committee, PresIntermovementum of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and ESSR Council of Ministers on the Occasion of Estonian Independence Day, in which it speaks of the necessity to consolidate political forces in the republic, and expressed disagreement with its other clauses.

**Strike Committee Established**

A meeting was held 24 February at the Elektrotekhnika Scientific-Production Association in Tallinn to protest the lowering of the state flag and raising the Estonian national flag on Dlinnyy German.

That morning, workers from the assembly shop had hung the USSR state flag over the shop building, and I. Borodin, party committee secretary of the association, came to chat with the collective. A rumor was circulating that a party leader had allegedly tried to take down the flag on instructions from the Estonian CP Central Committee, which raised the tensions among the workers even higher, and the meeting spilled out of the shop into plant territory. Over a thousand people took part in it. Of course there was no phone call from the central committee and could not have been; but someone needed to stir up the situation to the limit.

The speakers spoke of the inappropriateness of removing the ESSR state flag and replacing it with the national flag—saying that this undermines the prestige of the Estonian working class and allegedly leads to encroachments on the rights and interests of the Russian-speaking populace in the republic.

The worst hotheads called upon the crowd to start a strike right away; and immediately after the meeting, to take the state flag with them into the streets of the city and hold a protest demonstration there.

However this did not take place. Representatives of the United Council of Labor Collectives were invited to the meeting. S. Puchkov, party committee secretary of the RET Production Association in Tallinn

and S.Pasko, a representative of Dvigatel, a union-level plant in Tallinn, called upon the workers to weigh all the "pros" and "cons" before making such a weighty decision.

At first these suggestions met with adamant opposition. But little by little a sober mood set in. The most intelligent workers supported the opinion of the OSTK representatives on the inexpediency of such an action. However, it was proposed to establish a strike committee, to unite with other enterprises of union subordination, and inform the leading organs of the republic of the deadlines for holding a protest action.

The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution in which they protested the removal of the ESSR state flag from Toompea, and expressed their mistrust of the republic leadership. It was decided to send the text of the resolution to the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet as well.

On 28 February an ETA correspondent made telephone contact with I. Borodin. He reported that a seven-member strike committee staff had been formed, and that a draft resolution had been prepared which contains a summons to set up a republic-wide meeting of labor collectives in March.

#### In the Estonia Concert Hall

The solemn ceremony in the Estonia concert hall, dedicated to the 71st Anniversary of the Estonian Republic and organized by the Estonian Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, commenced with bringing in the national flag and singing together the hymn, "My Motherland—My Happiness and Joy," by Friedrikh Patsius.

After the opening ceremony, Trivimi Velliste, chairman of the Estonian Society for Preservation of Antiquities took the rostrum.

He expressed his doubts about the expedience of raising the national flag on the tower of Dlinny German. This supposedly confuses the people with respect to achieving their aspirations for freedom and creates a false impression of independence.

The way to achieving Estonian independence, it was asserted, is opened in the declaration of the society, which among other things states that the proclamation of the Estonian Republic is an event of unprecedented significance to the history of Estonia, and that its independence and legal continuity shall not be interrupted.

Proceeding from the aforementioned, the Estonian Society for Preservation of Antiquities sent an appeal to the government of the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, with a proposal to declare the non-aggression pact concluded in

Moscow on 23 August 1939 between the Soviet Union and Germany, along with the supplementary protocol—null and void—and to publicly condemn it.

The society appealed to the government of the USSR with a proposal to honor and put into effect the peace treaty concluded between the Estonian Republic and the RSFSR on 2 February 1920 in Tartu.

T. Velliste proposed attributing to Estonia the very same status as Hungary, with membership in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The second speaker was Tunne Kelam, a representative of the Estonian National Independence Party.

He gave an extensive review of the history of the celebration of the republic's anniversary date, and affirmed that even in the very worst days of persecution, people would assemble on this date at the tomb of Yu. Kuperyanov, display blue-black-and-white flags, and deliver patriotic speeches.

Unfortunately, the speaker connected the undoubtedly positive changes of today not with the Estonian CP and the present state leadership, but only with the activity of the MRP-AEG and the PNNE. At the very same time Kelam asserted that they do not go along with the Communist Party. The criticism of the Communist Party was flavored with terms of the time of the Stalin regime, and was not in consonance with the hollow atmosphere. One correspondent from Ireland who was in the hall, after hearing everything asked his translator:

"And are there communists in the hall?"

"But of course."

Pluralism, yes: but then, is it the right kind? And then once again the assembly sang patriotic songs and listened to a performance of the ESSR State Symphonic Orchestra.

#### On Ratushnaya Square

Last Friday, 24 February, a meeting was held on Ratushnaya Square. While giving our democratic movement its due in the process of democratization, one simply cannot understand those who even at such a time, which the Estonian people have been awaiting for decades, again and again would seek out a breach in the monolithic wall, and having found a crack, would virtually take up a cudgel and pound in a wedge, in order to widen it. That's all you can call the direct or indirect statements against the national flag, which was once again unfurled on the tower of Dlinny German, and which has become the common flag for representatives of the Estonian National Independence

Party, the Estonian Society for Preservation of Antiquities, and certain other groupings which had accused the board of the People's Front of perfltermovement and dishonorable behavior.

Of course, sensible statements were heard as well. For example, there was unanimous assent that, having given honor to the flag and the hymn of Estonia, the citizens of the Estonian Republic should also behave honorably. And IME can become a reality, if we ourselves accomplish it. The time will come when it will be better for all Estonians at home than in a foreign land, and Estonians will find their place among all the other nations on our common planet Earth. It was noted that it is necessary to continue to speak out against needless migration, extraction of rock phosphates, and other activities by union-level departments, which are colonial activities in the truest sense of the word. But then what, for example, should one's attitude be toward the appeal to boycott conscription in the army? Or to a placard depicting the abbreviation "ESSR" crossed out with a red line?

The appeal by the Estonian Christian Union to the citizens of Estonia was stated in warm and sincere words: "We believe that the time is coming when we will no longer be belittled on the land of our forefathers, for the fact that we love this land." I would like to add that we must learn to truly love this land. And recognizing reality, we must teach those for whom this land has with the years or by force of circumstances become their paternal home, to cherish and defend it. For it is namely our home and not a hostel or a temporary shelter. Unfortunately, there was no mention of this at the meeting.

**Estonian People's Front Leader Savisaar Denies Media Control**  
*18000704 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 3*

[Article by Edgar Savisaar: "A Few Remarks in Connection with A. Shibin's Articles, Published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on 14 January and 2 February 1989"]

[Text] Owing to lack of time I cannot make a careful analysis of the ideological side of Shibin's articles; I will limit myself only to certain rebuttals of his point of view. I reserve to myself the right to respond in greater detail in the future, with the kind permission of the editors.

Thus, Shibin's point (14 January) that the MASS INFORMATION MEDIA are under the influence of the NFE [Estonian People's Front]: As proof the author cites by name the journalists elected to the leading organs of NFE. Next (2 February) he writes that Savisaar is trying to prove that the press is hostile to NFE. But facts are what is needed, and not unsubstantiated statements. "Unfortunately, that has not been done (that is, the facts have not been presented—E.S.); moreover, it is hard to demonstrate the indemonstrable."

**REBUTTAL:** In a report delivered at the city hall last year on 22 December, I did indeed say the following: "I don't know, but I don't think there has been a single republic newspaper which has not for a long time published critical articles from many Estonian and Russian scholars, as well as ordinary workers and students, along with an analysis of the actions of the Intermovement [Interdvizhenie, ID] and the United Council of Labor Collectives. And at the same time they dare to say that the press is under the influence of the NFE." All that is true. We are unable to criticize the ID and OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives] to the extent that SOVETSKAYA ESTONIA deigns to do, with respect to the NFE. Our articles are simply not published. For a long time articles have been lying idle (and are to this day)—articles by Sociologist Kaarel Khaav about ID, in NOORTE HAAL; manuscripts by Khardo Aasmyae and Vello Pokhla, as well as resolutions by NFE support groups at plants of Union subordination; a certain portion of the materials about the founding conferences of the Union of Labor Collectives are at the editorial office of YKhTULEKht and VECHERNYY TALLINN; an article by Sergey Zonov about the underlying cause of the establishment of OSTK in Sillamae is at the editorial offices of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, and so on. For January of this year, this list merely grows longer.

Those who reproach us for the fact that the press is allegedly under the influence of the popular movement are only trying to ensure that the NFE is never offered an opportunity to appear in the mass information media.

The point about the ELECTIONS: (14 January). The author refers to my speech at the meeting of Authorized Agents of the Council [Sovet upolnomochennykh (NFE)] on 7 January, during discussion of the participation of NFE in preparations for electing People's Deputies of the USSR, which allegedly included an appeal to nominate "our own people" to the district electoral commissions.

In the television show, "Let's Think It Over," Savisaar allegedly lied, when he said that inasmuch as NFE is not a registered movement, it cannot nominate its own candidates for election. Then Shibin cites the names Lauristin, Kallas, Vooglayd, Palm and Gryazin and draws the conclusion that since NFE is not registered, no one can prevent it from nominating its own candidates.

**REBUTTAL:** Shibin's description of the session of the Council of Authorized Agents is seriously at odds with the truth. The magnetic tape recording of the session has been preserved, and anyone can verify it. And by the way, in my own talk there were no appeals to send "our own people" to the district electoral commissions. The remarks concerning the district electoral commissions in my report were as follows: "And now the following request: that you (NFE support groups in our own labor collectives and regional councils of authorized agents—ES) help nominate candidates from the labor collectives to the district electoral commissions; that you work out

the principles, with which the members of the district commissions should comply; such principles should be: honesty, objectivity and precision. I would imagine that candidates would most likely be chosen along with the rayon link of the Union of Labor Collectives (the place where these rayon links operate); and after that, assist in the formation of district electoral commissions at the ispolkoms."

Information on the session of the Council of Authorized Agents was published in the newspaper NOORTE HAAL (10 January 1989); the article provides a survey of the council's resolution on the coming elections. In comparison with this survey, Shibin does not add anything principally new, but he does distort what was said at the session of the Council of Authorized Agents, in a light favorable to himself.

I affirm as before that NFE has not nominated a single candidate to the USSR Council of People's Deputies. Not one of the aforementioned persons was nominated by NFE; they were nominated by the working collectives. Lauristin, Kallas, Vooglayd, Palm and Gryazin would have been nominated even if NFE did not exist at all.

No doubt NFE will make its own decision on the support of those candidates which in our opinion will best be able to represent the progressive aspirations of Estonian society in the national parliament. Thus far we have not done this, although Shibin ascribed such an action to NFE in his article in January.

The point ON SECRECY: (2 February). "I do not know of a single meeting of the Council of Authorized Agents which has not taken place completely or partially behind closed doors." Decisions are taken in secret.

**REBUTTAL:** All meetings of the NFE Council of Authorized Agents are held in public, and guests have an opportunity to take part in them. Only at two meetings were certain points on the agenda secret. This is a widespread practice among other political forces, nor is it forbidden by the NFE Charter. Decisions are not taken in secret, and all fundamental questions are discussed publicly. Perhaps too publicly at that, if one considers how often they attempt to take advantage of our natural internal discussions themselves to our detriment.

The point ON THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE OF 16 NOVEMBER AND THE JUST BEFORE: (2 February). "We will not beat around the bush, but will bluntly state—the people were invited not to a discussion of draft legislation, but to a political adventure. And sooner or later we must find the courage to admit such things."

**REBUTTAL** The opinion of NFE is completely different from the one stated, and has pointed this out more than once. With 900,000 signatures the people expressed their will, and the people's deputies carried it out. And it is not only NFE that believes this. At the December 1988

Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, Vayno Vyalunas declared that the 16 November activity of the people's deputies expressed the will of the people. At the December session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, People's Deputy V. Chetvergov affirmed that the decision taken at the 16 November session was well-thought out and so on. There are no grounds whatsoever to declare their preceding discussion as "political adventure," although that is what Shibin demands.

The point on the ETHICAL TRANSGRESSIONS: (2 February). Shibin reproaches the Board of NFE for the court case against the TASS correspondents, who made use of materials intended for official use only. Shibin, for a comparison in his own article, utilizes materials on discussion of a secret point on the Council of Authorized Agents session agenda.

**REBUTTAL:** These materials are not compatible. As Shibin writes, the basis for his synopsis was the word of one of the participants in the council session, whom he trusts as himself. In spite of this, he supposedly does not pretend to citing the contents of my speech word-for-word, but assumes that its sense is not distorted.

As far as the court investigation of the TASS correspondents is concerned, it is not a matter of a conversation held in confidence with a secret friend, but one of official documents belonging to NFE, the authenticity of which is acknowledge by the Estonian Press Agency, and which incriminate NFE and its leaders for inflaming interethnic tensions and conducting antidemocratic campaigns. In these documents the activity of NFE is arbitrarily associated with accidents which took place at enterprises, damage to equipment, and hooligan escapades.

The point on RELATIONS WITH THE PARTY: (14 January) Shibin asks a rhetorical question, whether or not Savisaar is far from those ID leaders whom he himself accuses of attacks on the Estonian CP.

**REBUTTAL:** Very far, since ID is accusing the party organs of following the line of the 11th Estonian CP Central Committee Plenum, and the NFE of the departs from this line which have taken place. I would like to call to Shibin's attention the distortions in the translation of my statements. In those places in which I am speaking about party organs, in your article they are often translated as the party or the Communist Party, which are not at all the same and attribute a somewhat different shading to my meaning.

The point ON THE STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL FORCES: (14 January). Shibin writes that the Communist Party has no place in the structure of political forces outlined in Savisaar's report, "as if it did not exist or, as if its influence on political life in the republic is so insignificant, that it is not even worth mentioning."

**REBUTTAL:** The report concerned only part of the political organization of society, namely the informal part; that is, that portion of the structure of political forces which is at the given moment not officially recognized. The report which Shibin cites lacks not only reference to the party, but also analysis of the forces of a great many other important political organizations which comprise the political structure of society.

The Maynora public opinion survey service has often analyzed the role of the Estonian CP and its leaders in the political life of Estonia, and these data have been published in the newspapers MAALEKHT and NOORTE HAAL. I too expressed certain considerations about this on 29 January of this year at the NFE Council of Authorized Agents session. There is no way that one can assert that in so doing I underestimated in any way the influence of the party.

The point ON IMPATIENCE: (2 February). Reproaching certain NFE leaders for impatience with dissidents, Shibin comes to the defense of Gustav Naan, Lembit Annus and Victor Vakht, who have allegedly become the objects of a witch-hunt.

**REBUTTAL:** In this article, Shibin calls the Karabakh Committee provocateurs and expresses concern about why the members of PNNE have not yet been arrested. Now where is his patience? There are no grounds whatsoever to call the members of the Karabakh Committee provocateurs; after all, they have not even been tried. One gets the impression that Shibin himself would gladly organize a witch-hunt if society would let him do so.

The point about RELATIONS WITH THE KARABAKH COMMITTEE: (14 January). "It is unworthy of a deputy of the ESSR Supreme Soviet and a communist to publicly express support for members of the Karabakh Committee," writes Shibin (2 February). According to Shibin, Maryu Lauristin's statement about the protests of the democratic public of the USSR in connection with the arrest of the Karabakh Committee members is allegedly "demagogic verbiage and nothing more."

**REBUTTAL:** Those arrested include two deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, one corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, one doctor of sciences, several candidates of science and VUZ instructors, etc. (although, according to Shibin, the intelligentsia has spurned the Karabakh Committee). I suggest that this arrest was a grave mistake, which our leaders will realize sooner or later. I see no reason why I should not put in a word in their defense.

The point on THE SELECTIVE PUBLICATION OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE NFE CONGRESS: (2 February). The congress' resolution on Nagornyy Karabakh was not published at all, whereas the texts of other

resolutions of the NFE Congress were published in the newspapers SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA and RAHVA HAAL. "I must reconstruct the true picture from my own notes," writes Shibin.

**REBUTTAL:** The newspapers not only did not publish the resolution, "On Events in Nagornyy Karabakh and the Armenian SSR," but also the resolutions, "Appeal to the Citizens of the Estonian SSR (on National Relations)," "On Self-Determination," "On the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact," and others. These documents had been adopted back when the Initiative Center of NFE was still operating, and the congress merely approved them. All of them without exception were published in the Collection of Materials on the NFE Congress, which was published with a circulation of 25,000 copies. There was no need whatsoever for Shibin to "reconstruct the true picture from my own notes." There are far more reliable sources of information.

The point of the NFE ACCUSATIONS directed at the ESSR Supreme Soviet: (14 January). Last summer certain NFE leaders were accusing the union republic Supreme Soviets, including that of the Estonian SSR, of interference in the internal affairs of the Transcaucasus.

**REBUTTAL:** Far from accusing the Supreme Soviet, the NFE Initiative Center approved its activity, and stated the following in its resolution: "Appreciating the serious attitude of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium toward the problem discussed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, and is in complete agreement with the point of view expressed there by Arnold Ryutel..." (NFE Congress, Collection of Materials, Tallinn, 1988, p 188). That same resolution stresses that, "Any solution beyond a sensible compromise, which would satisfy everyone, is illusory and would bring up even more complicated problems" (pp 187-188). The NFE Congress did not approve and did not adopt any other documents on the question of Nagornyy Karabakh.

The point of the INACCURACY OF DATA: (14 January). After reading in VYRU SYNA a description of Savisaar's speech on Theater Square in Yerevan before a crowd of 100,000, Shibin got in touch with "his own Armenian friends," who informed him that no more than 10,000 people took part in the meeting.

**REBUTTAL:** The editors of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA declare that Shibin was given all the mail which concerns the given question. Why then did he remain silent about the open letter to the editor of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, Comrade Tarakanov, from employees at the Amino Acid Technology Scientific Research Institute of the Armenian SSR? The letter states, that "If Savisaar could make a mistake in estimating the number of participants at the meeting, inflating or deflating it, then it is perplexing that Shibin, in casting doubt upon the accuracy of the description of the meeting held in Yerevan, makes use of a dubious quotation of his own Armenian friends, and does this

twice in his own article. Incidentally, we can confirm, and not at all anonymously, the correctness of Savisaar's description, since we ourselves took part in that event." The names and signatures of the employees at the institute follow. A copy of the letter sent to Comrade Tarakanov was also sent to the magazine KULTUUR Ya ELU, from whence it reached me as well.

The point of the GROUNDLESSNESS OF STATEMENTS: (14 January). The 4 January broadcast of "Let's Think it Over," confirmed that the newspapers reported about the nomination of candidates for the People's Deputies of the USSR even in places at which pre-election meetings had not in fact taken place (2 February). Shibin says that this is an example of demagogic, since no one was named specifically and everything remains at the rumor level.

**REBUTTAL** This is not demagogic. For example, on 19 December 1988, SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA gave space in its first column to an Estonian News Agency report on the fact that the ESSR Academy of Sciences Special Engineering Design Bureau and the Polimer Production Association had nominated M. Titm as a candidate for deputy, and Comrade B. Tamm for the Transportation Committee. A check established that in fact by that time the labor collectives of these institutions and enterprises had not held any meetings for nominating candidates.

I hope that now Shibin will not refuse to be more specific about the guesswork in his SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA article of 14 January about the director of the institution, which utilizes an official vehicle and state gasoline "for organizing their own personal elections," for which "it is not known, from whose pocket" a translator is paid well—and with respect to whom the collective demands greater openness. Name that name!

In conclusion I would like to reassure Shibin. He speaks of himself as a member of the Russian-language section of NFE (2 February), and is afraid he will be thrown out of there because of his article. Comrade Shibin is not altogether where he thinks he is; for NFE is not an organization, but a movement. It has no membership, and therefore no one can drive him out, nor can anyone accept him in the NFE. I also hope that this time not a single one of his statements of the slightest significance remains unchallenged; and I hope that in the third and subsequent articles (for which—I am sure—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA will kindly offer him space), he will not be able to triumphantly report that once again his opponents agreed with him in silence.

There remain only a few loose ends with Comrade Tarakanov, editor of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA. First of all, the editor of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA must know that in discussion with Shibin we were hardly on an equal footing. The editors allowed him the opportunity to first acquaint himself with the interview with

Maryu Lauristin and comment on it in the same issue of the newspaper in which it was published. We were not given the same opportunity with respect to Shibin's article.

Secondly, in the introduction to Shibin's article (2 February) it is confirmed that he was offered all the mail about the article published on 14 January for his answer. It is not known whether he was offered all the mail or whether Shibin paid no attention to the most delicate letters. In any case, this mail must be added to from time to time. The letter of CPSU member and labor veteran Petr Tennok, "SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA Should Not Hinder Perestroyka in Estonia," must not go unanswered. This letter analyzes Shibin's article. An original was sent to the Estonian CP Central Committee first secretary, and copies to Comrade S. Tarakanov and NFE.

Finally I would remind Comrade Tarakanov of his written request to IZVESTIYA Correspondent Leonid Levitskiy to publish public questions. The size of the remarks is no more than one page, and it was published in Estonian in the newspaper SIRP YA VAZAR already on 20 January 1989. Perhaps SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA will be able to find a little space in the newspaper for myself as well?

\* \* \*

**Esteemed E. Savisaar,**

We thank you for the letter we received. We have prepared it for publication. However, the editors were perplexed by the appearance of this letter on the pages of the newspaper EDAZI. After all, the discussion was being conducted by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, and readers of EDAZI are not informed of the course of the events.

Further. In answering A. Shibin's letter in our newspaper on 2 February 1989, M. Lauristin noted that the NFE was ready "to carry on dialog or discussion on principled positions, but not at the level of personalities;" but your response, unfortunately, reduces the dispute to a personal level, and challenges the opponent to rebuttal on the very same unprincipled features of which Shibin is accused in your letter.

Lauristin says that it is she herself who responds in the name of the NFE board and not you, "Because otherwise this would seem like an attempt for his (that is, your) justification, and we will not accept discussion at that level." And one cannot but agree with her approach, because the publication of your letter here would be in conflict with the opinion of the board of NFE—which would not escape Shibin's attention, nor the other readers of the newspaper, and the editors would be overwhelmed with a flood of perplexed letters, to which the editors would be obliged to respond—which would lead to an unnecessary spiral of escalation.

It is also significant that the editors do not see in your letter any purpose for continued fruitful discussion. In it everything is reduced to an unprincipled argument on the topics: "Were there 100,000 or 10,000 people at the meeting in Yerevan?;" whether "All the intelligentia in Armenia refuted the Karabakh Committee, or just part of them?;" "whether there is a significant difference between the words, 'party organs' and 'party;'" and so on and so forth. Incidentally, your letter silently sidestepped a number of principled questions posed by A. Shibin. For example, to which appeal by NFE to the government of Azerbaijan were Aramyan and Shaumyan referring, and what was the attitude of the Board of NFE to the picket at the House of Political Education on 30 November 1988; and a number of others.

We were also obliged to pay attention to the out-and-out inaccuracies in your letter, which also would not have gone unnoticed by our readers in case of its publication. Shibin once again pointed out that 900,000 signatures had been collected against discussion of certain draft laws at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and not corrections and suggestions for them. But you tried to prove something else.

You say that the NFE Congress did not adopt certain resolutions and only approved them, and therefore they were not published in the press (the connection here is not clear). Nor was the reference to the circumstance that these resolutions were entered in the NFE collection altogether appropriate, since its circulation (25,000 copies) does not permit broad circles of Estonian readers to become familiar with them, not to mention the Russian-speaking readers, for whom this collection of documents has not yet been printed.

And, in our view, your discussion of journalistic ethics was not very convincing. You reproach worker A. Shibin for using materials from meetings of the NFE Council of Authorized Agents (Incidentally, he—if you had carefully read his reply—agreed that this was not the best thing, from his position); and instead, you continue to assert that on the part of NFE, such behavior as the removal of documents by the TASS correspondent (whatever their contents), was "incompatible" in comparison with the behavior of A. Shibin.

One could continue this critical discussion of your letter on other points raised in it, but the editors believe that the aforementioned has already convinced you of the inexpediency of its publication, since it would bring forth another flood of criticism of NFE on behalf of the readers.

And, finally, on your remarks addressed to the newspaper. First of all, Shibin should be acquitted of one undeserved accusation. A check has established that that the letter from the employees of the Amino Acid Technology Scientific Research Institute of the Armenian

SSR, which you cited, arrived at the editorial office on the day Shibin's article and Lauristin's interview were published; and, naturally, Shibin did not know about them.

On the letter from P. Tennok. It was sent on 10 February 1989 (a Friday). It was received on 13 February (a Monday). On that same day they delivered your letter, which already has a reference to Tennok. Here we must thank the industrious courier from the board of NFE, which receives official mail even on Sundays, and instantly delivers it to its addressee; the moreso, since there is quite often misunderstanding with respect to the mails—as in all probability happened with the "Public questions to IZVESTIYA correspondent Leonid Levitskiy." Their editors (and a check has established precisely) did not receive it.

And on letters in general. Their numbers are growing constantly. Last year the editors received 13,100 letters (more than other publication in the republic). This is to our great credit, and to utilize them is not only the complete right, but also the great responsibility of our employees. To give all letters access to the columns is a practical impossibility. In each individual case the editorial office ITSELF decides their fate. The letters which you name—are only a drop in the bucket in the mail to the editors. There are a lot more critical letters directed at the leaders of NFE, some of which even contain lines of poetry dedicated to you. But we make use of such mail thoughtfully and perspicaciously.

I hope that you will not look upon this answer as an attempt to avoid dialogue. However, if you insist on publication of your letter, it will be published.

Taking advantage of the opportunity, I sincerely ask that you find the time for an interview with SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA on problems of practical introduction of republic khozraschet, which is of great interest to our readers.

Respectfully,  
S. Tarakanov

**Ethnographer Recommends Improvements for Life of Northern Peoples**

18300400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by Ch. Taksami, chief of the Ethnography of Siberian Peoples Sector, USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute, and doctor of historical sciences: "People At the Edge of the Earth"]

[Text] Extensive experience in assimilating the regions of the taiga and tundra has been accumulated in our country. However, many acute problems have also arisen, which

**require introspective examination. The questions associated with the daily life of the native population of the North and with defining the means of development of the unique culture of the pre-Arctic zone require particular attention.**

#### **Following the Tracks of the Young Reindeer**

The time is past when the reindeer raising peoples led a nomadic lifestyle. Today a large part of the population of the North lives in sovkhoz and kolkhoz settlements. Yet, in organizing a stable lifestyle, the local organs did not give sufficient consideration to the specifics of reindeer raising, as well as other occupations of the northern peoples. The unjustified concentration of the population in large settlements turned out to be a blow to reindeer breeding. It led to elimination of private herds and artificially gave rise to food, transport and housing problems, and to all kinds of shortages. In spite of only partial employment of the population, there arose a shortage of reindeer breeders (with herds numbering 2 million!), hunters, and fishermen. Often now we may hear the question: "Where did the famous 'pyzhik' [young reindeer] go?..."

Northern reindeer breeding is not simply an economic sector. It is the basis of the economy and the traditional culture of the Nenets, Evenk, Chukchi, Even, Orok, and certain other peoples. We must say that at the primary stages of kolkhoz construction the need for migration of the reindeer herds was taken into consideration. However, in the 60's a course was adopted toward strengthening the population centers. Age-old arable lands were abandoned and fertile land was neglected. Today only poachers exercise their freedom here.

The labor of the reindeer herder is difficult and requires complete selflessness. This in essence is a peculiar way of life. Before, when they migrated in families, the herders were helped by their wives, by the old people and by adolescents. The reindeer herder was taken care of and felt comfortable in his own way. Today a problem has emerged which no one expected and which may be expressed by the typical question of the reindeer herder: "Who will warm the yaranga [skin tent]?" The herder has found himself alone in the face of daily cares and misfortunes. The questions of medical, mass cultural and consumer services are being poorly resolved. The herders have trouble getting mail, and often they do not even have adequate rations.

We believe that the network of reindeer breeding bases must be expanded and developed, so that they will fulfill a more serious social function. There must be not only storehouses of food products here, but also improved housing, small industrial facilities for the manufacture and repair of means of transport, labor tools for processing skins, sewing fur goods, etc. Obviously, the economy must be placed on a current basis. It must be supplied with means of small-scale mechanization, electrical

power, communications and proper cultural-domestic services. Specialists of a broad profile must be trained for work under such conditions.

The flourishing of reindeer breeding is unthinkable without a clear division of the grazing zones and migration routes of the domesticated reindeer from the territory of industrial development. For the present, surveyors, timber cutters and builders often act in such a way as if the age-old trades did not even exist. This inflicts great losses due to the decline of reindeer breeding and the reduction in reserves of fish, game, berries, etc. Such a practice is irrational. With good organization, the "outdated" sectors are capable of significantly increasing their contribution to the Food Program, providing industry with fur goods which are in great demand, and giving a sizeable addition of currency influx into the budget.

#### **What Is Cultural Economics?**

There are still some "hotheads" who under the guise of improving the economy and management strive to eliminate the "inaccessible" population centers. The harm of such a line is evident. The time has come to legislatively prohibit the liquidation of any settlement toward which people gravitate. The families of the primordial northerners still travel hundreds of kilometers every year, to the native places which they have known and studied from childhood, where they engage for months at a time in commercial fishing and gathering. Is it not time to "legalize" them? The North will not be assimilated merely by the construction of cities and city-type settlements.

It is painful to see the settlements and villages which were abandoned in the 50's, the overgrown fertile lands where potatoes and vegetables were once raised. Today, as never before, the North needs reliable working hands. But where will the newcomer settle? From whom will he borrow the experience in taming this harsh land? After all, only rayon centers are being improved, where the population generally engaged in the nonproductive sphere is concentrated. Also, here they continue to build two-story apartment houses of the barracks type, without any modern conveniences. Practical experience has shown that in the North it is most expedient to build cottages with yards and gardens.

The economic activity in the North is largely conducted in a wasteful manner. Here too we need intensification, but of a specific type—not that which leads to destruction of the biosphere. We must remember that the local economy has been waste-free since time immemorial, i.e., the most rational from the current standpoint. The Northerners knew how to take the optimal amount of resources from nature so as not to deplete the environment. They knew how to utilize raw materials in a thrifty manner. Why is it that now we may often see how meat and hides are wasted with unthinking carelessness during slaughter of the reindeer, how by-products which were before fully utilized are now thrown away? Why has the

processing of hides, the tanning of leather and preparation of furs by the traditional methods everywhere declined? New technologies are being introduced at an extremely slow rate.

The great shortage in fur clothing and footwear is not being replenished. Yet the types of fur clothing developed in the North are examples in perfection. A person feels comfortable in them even during the coldest frost. Yet in the "land of furs" the art of sewing is gradually being forgotten. Factory production must be organized, and as soon as possible. The expenditures for this will be returned a hundredfold.

The residents of the pre-Arctic zone have long consumed unique types of food which at first seemed strange to visitors. Unfortunately, people know only by hear-say about the advantages of the northern diet. This has led to various prejudices. Today the plans for these okrugs stress primarily the production of milk, then poultry raising, while the food most necessary for the Northerners—commercial [hunting and fishing]—is placed in the background. The reason for this is simple: Many specialists and managers who have come to the North think in categories of the "central provinces", and do not have time to delve into the specifics.

#### Preparing "Managers of Chukotka"

Where can we find knowledgeable specialists who are oriented toward work under northern conditions? As yet there is probably no such specialization in any VUZ or vocational-technical school. It is true that pedagogical and medical cadres are being prepared, as well as workers in cultural enlightenment. The people of the North are today becoming diploma-holding engineers, teachers, doctors, school directors—whoever you like, only not managers of the primordial sectors. Very few representatives of the native population are managers of reindeer breeding sovkhozes and commercial fishing kolkhozes.

Obviously, we cannot limit the youth in selecting a profession or an educational institution. However, we are speaking here about something else—about the incorrect professional orientation which the schools, newspapers, and literature have conducted for decades. Can we forget that the peoples of the North have limited labor resources? The goal-oriented preparation of specialists must be conducted with a precise consideration for the demands of the regions.

The North knows many examples of the selfless labor of highly trained specialists who have tied their fate forever with this marvelous land. Very much is being done in our country to see that the small peoples participate with equal rights in political and socio-economic life. Particular concern is being shown toward them, especially since quite recently the small peoples have greatly lagged behind in their social development. Yet this work too requires corrections for the changing conditions.

The outdated tendency of building a life "for the Northerners", instead of by the hands of the Northerners themselves and with their most active participation, is becoming apparent. It is no secret that today in the North they are waiting for "moonlighters" to come from the center or the southern republics to build houses and to erect fences for the reindeer pasturelands. They are waiting for the students from far-off cities to come to process the fish, for the patrons to mow the hay and harvest the potatoes, etc. Such principles disorient the people and dull their initiative.

#### The Process of Revolutionary Renovation

It has stirred up the Northerners who were so quiet and patient. They too have finally begun talking openly about the many social injustices occurring in their land. They have raised their voice against the thoughtless "assimilation" of the North and the barbaric attitude toward local nature. I have once again become convinced of this, having visited Sakhalin, Kamchatka and the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Unfortunately, the movement of perestroika in the North is being hindered by the huge bureaucratic apparatus, which is largely made up of randomly selected and untrained people. Even in the offices of the small reindeer breeding sovkhozes and commercial fishing kolkhozes there are often up to 40 or more administrators, which often exceeds the staff of reindeer herders and fishermen.

The organs of Soviet authority must immediately resolve the problems which have accumulated, and primarily—by involving the native population in self-government. The right of permission or prohibition for developing the region's natural resources must be handed over to the local Soviets, who are called upon to consider the interests of the native population in full measure, and not to play at give-away with the departments. Finally, we must seek out the capacities for compensating for the great loss inflicted upon the environment and the aboriginal cultures, for the destruction of millions of hectares of reindeer grazing land, hunting and fishing lands, and spawning rivers. The compensation funds must be used to eliminate the injustices in the provision of the rural resident, whose standard of living today is 1/18th that of city residents in the North. Not one new industrial construction site should be undertaken without the approval of the local population, without a guaranteed technical-economic and ecological substantiation, and without correlation with the interests of the aboriginal residents. Since, no matter how you look at it, this is their primordial land, their habitat. They do not have and never will have another.

The existing system of education and upbringing of children of Northerners in boarding schools appears to be a clear anachronism. Undoubtedly, it does more harm than good, separating the children from their parents, disrupting the inter-generation ties, and raising a generation of young people to whom the occupations of their

forebears are foreign and who are oriented toward consumerism. At the same time, we must develop the network of schools where instruction is conducted in the national language and professional orientation is aimed at traditional occupations. We might add that in the North these may be, as a rule, large.

I am deeply convinced that the time has come to renew the process of national construction in the North, which was so rudely interrupted in the 30's. We must restore the national rayons and rural soviets, and give a true character to national-territorial autonomy. We must create a State Committee on the Affairs of Development of Northern Peoples, with involvement of leading scientists specializing in Northern studies, and with provision of wide powers regarding the fate of the Northerners. [This committee] must continue under new conditions the work of the Committee on the North under the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee] Presidium, which was unjustifiably liquidated in the sadly infamous 30's, and it must have complete authority in the development of the northern peoples. The present-day scientific institutions engaged in studying the North are incapable of really influencing the processes which are taking place here. And these processes are quite tragic: Some groups are close to cultural, economic-domestic and demographic degradation.

Our North is unique. Unique too is its ancient and modern culture. The study of its life must also become unique in its depth and overall attainment. I am convinced that the time is right for creating an all-union scientific center for the integrated study of the culture of northern peoples. Such an institution would play an inestimable role in the assimilation of the northern regions. Moreover, in the opinion of many of my colleagues in northern studies, it has long been time to develop the organs of autonomy in the North for the purpose of ensuring true self-development of the native peoples of the region.

**Eyewitness Accounts from UkSSR, Other Areas on 1932-33 Famine Published**  
18000615 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian  
2 Mar 89 p 4

[Letters to the editor: "The Famine"]

[Text] "And if the development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes proceeds at an intensive rate, there is no basis to doubt that our country will, in three years or so, become one of the greatest grain-producing countries, if not the greatest grain-producing country, in the world." (I. Stalin, "The Year of the Great Turning Point," November 1929.)

In 1932 under the Poltava regime, under pretext of collecting surplus grain, they carried out searches and took all the grain except corn. Between March and the summer a great many people died, including my father, mother and brother. Neighboring families too died out

altogether or by half. These were our neighbors, by name: The Malyy's—all died; the Lapki's—all died; the Kuzema's—half died; the Naumenko's—all died; the Buylakh's—lost all their children. And there were many, many others. A brigade for burying the corpses was formed, of which Peter Vasilevich Kuzema is still alive. Children, bloated from hunger, would walk around the bazaars, uncomprehending. The people died quietly, and suffered greatly; there was awareness, but the body was immobile. The cries and moans; the terror and horror! To this day I can hear the moans of my dying mother and the cries of the children.

Everything was sold and everything was eaten, from mice to dogs. I remained alive, ten years old, with my sister in the house. Hungry and cold, we would lay down to sleep, and there was no hope that the swollen bodies would wake up. And the fear. Ragged, naked, hungry; with no father and mother, few lived until the harvest. My mother was buried next to the house; my father and brother, in the cemetery. This was but one example, and there were thousands. A bitter fate befell our generation. And even now I cannot understand why the peasants were oppressed so; why they were annihilated; why the children were orphaned. For what? After all, they died kolkhozniks.

*[Signed] N.D. Ovchar, Tyumen Oblast*

During the winter of 1932/33 a large black wooden board, called the black board, was hung next to the rural soviet in our stanitsa. And mass searches began, at private farms first of all. They took all the grain; that is, both the wheat and the seed. And mass starvation set in. Here is one thing I remember, for example: Uncle Nikifor Afanasovich Kosmin had a family of eight people, and worked as assistant poultryman. There was a shortage of 150-200 chicks; they said a hawk got them, or a fox. But no documents had been drawn up at the time. And the end of the year he was put in jail and was given ten years in Kolyma, but the family was searched. Everything they had in the pantry—sugar, grain, groats, peas, French beans, sunflower seeds, watermelons and vegetable marrow—was cleaned out completely. And no one would accept the family for work, although they had one able-bodied man. And so of eight people, six starved to death. But one managed to take on my mama, half-dead, at a brigade, where we worked as a family, and received soup made of corn, or polenta as it was called, and 20 grams of bread, which was what saved Yasha. My uncle came back from Kolyma at the end of 1937, and found only two left out of eight.

In our block alone, out of 16 or 17 households there remained parts of eight families, and the remaining nine all died from hunger; in other blocks they all died, every one. All Spring people who had starved to death were being stacked on carts like firewood and hauled off, and were dumped in a common pit somewhere near the brick works. By summer they had all been hauled away.

[Signed] I.G. Marushko, Stanitsa Bryukhovetskaya, Krasnodar Kray

That Winter the "aktiv" was riding around and taking whatever anyone had, household by household: pickles, potatoes, flour when anyone had any—the "aktiv" took everything and left the kolkhozniks with nothing to eat. "If you want to, you'll survive." And they would say, "Stalin's orders." Whether he gave the orders or not, Stalin had his little Stalins; they would sell things on the side and get drunk, and if you said anything you would get shipped off to Solovki [labor camp].. They would write down whatever they wanted.

The people would grind up corn cobs, and come Spring every blade of grass would disappear. A nearby sovkhoz had planted carrots; they were harvested in the fall, and in the Spring people would walk through the field searching for broken-off pieces. They would bring them home, where mother would wash them and divide them among everyone. But if the "aktiv" would see it, they would take even that. Rotted ears would be gathered too, to be put in the kolkhoz barns. Every day the "aktiv" would come in with the red broom and long iron shiryalkas [unknown]. You look up, and they've grabbed one innocent man, or they've put another in jail—and for keeps. In wintertime they would seize some muzhiks, haul them out into the field, strip them to their underwear and leave them; then they would ride their sleighs back to their houses. Whoever managed to return from the field would be severely frost-bitten, but most of them froze to death.

[Signed] K.I. Semenyuta, Kirghiz SSR

I have remembered the incident all my life: a ragged man with a rifle in his hands burst into our peasant house, tearing the door off the hinges (We lived in the village of Koysug, which is near the city of Bataysk). With his rifle-butt he pounded on the ceiling of the larder, and some people crawled into the attic. The ragged man with the rifle declared himself a Red Army man.

Three bags full of corncobs dropped from the attic, and the people crawled out cursing. They took away the bags with the corn, and the "Red Army man" flung his rifle down, tied up Father's hands with a rope, and led him off. He said they would put him in the lock-up, and would divide up the corn among the hungry people. Mother went to the Soviet: there they said that Father would be shot, since he had hidden three bags full of corncobs and had not given them up for the "common pot." But Father did not get shot; some workers from the Bataysk coal-yard where Father worked as a laborer spoke up for him. From the day they took away our corn, there was nothing to eat. Sometimes Father would bring home from work a round loaf of makukha (sunflower oil cake). He would cut it into small pieces, and we would nibble on the makukha, trying to make the flavor last. Father and Mother forbade me to go out on the street; they were afraid I would be "devoured." They said that

all the sparrows had already been caught; people were eating cats and dogs; and one person who had lost his mind had been digging up bodies in the cemetery and slicing off "meat" from them.

The first of us to starve to death was Grandmother Melanya Dubrovskaya; next we buried Grandfather Terentiy Boychenko, Grandmother Anastasiya Boychenko, Uncle Petr Boychenko (who died at age 16) and Uncle Pavel Boychenko (who was 25). Aunt Yevdokiya Boychenko and Aunt Mariya fled their house; Father took them in, "So they wouldn't die." Mother used to go to the river bank and cut reeds, from which she would weave little baskets, and carry them to Rostov to sell for food. Later on, while crossing the Don, she fell through a hole in the ice, became ill and died.

I can remember how upset Father became, because they would not even allow us to catch fish in the river. Since that terrible, terrible year I cannot remember that our family ever had enough food. It was only when Soso Dzhugashvili, who was nicknamed "Stalin," was sent to his ancestors that our lives began to gradually improve.

[Signed] I.S. Boychenko, Rostov Oblast

In our village of Vinitkiye Stavy, Kiev Oblast, 30 percent of the people starved to death, and they say 50 percent died in the village of Kovalinka. Since early 1933 I had been enrolled in FZU [Factory-Plant Apprenticeship] preparatory courses, where school-pupils who were somewhat larger and healthier had been lured into courtyards with candy, and slaughtered.

We used to walk to school in groups of four. One time we came upon a dead horse on the road. It was already bloated. We saw that three men were dividing up the horse. As we came closer one of the muzhiks, about 40 years old, blocked our way. Knife in hand, he said, "How about a light, boys." But we said we had no matches. He began to chase us, but we were quicker than he was and we escaped. And he said, "You were lucky—this time."

That terrible famine, I can tell you, was an artificial one—because the harvest that year was a normal one. Yet they took away all the people's reserves, they even emptied everything out of the chamber pots.

[Signed] T.M. Rikhtik, village of N.-Pavlovka, Kirghiz SSR

Petya, the boy next door, died on the street. He had been eating grass, and he died, with grass in his mouth. His family was already dead. Then somehow a horse died on the street. People flung themselves on it and began cutting it up, shoving at one another. The grown-ups pushed me aside too, but Mother managed to get some of the intestines.

Father, who was plump, rode to the city of Makeyevka to see his brother-in-law, but he couldn't help my father. And he died there, somewhere. My uncle told me later that he wanted to find Father's body, but there were stacks of naked bodies there, and he couldn't recognize him. Where my father's grave is, no one in the family ever knew.

The famine of 1933 was arranged, artificially, in order to make the people more submissive, and to crush their will. During the war I met soldiers who had worked as longshoremen in the Fall of 1932, and they told me that they then had to load grain on ships to be sent abroad. On the other hand, why did they take French beans, beets and even sunflower oil cakes from the people? Was that in the plan for grain procurement? Only to create the famine. And the effect was a success: whoever remained alive was ready to do anything, not to find himself in the same situation again. That's why everyone was singing praises to the "wise and beloved" leader. The famine forced people to pray to Stalin. Famine is more horrible than war.

*[Signed] M.A. Glushich, Cherkassy Oblast*

Suddenly, one night, someone was knocking at the window. I hear someone calling Father out into the street. Father got up and went outside; right away the whole household was aroused. I also crept out from behind the stove. There was a lot of noise and shouting out in the yard. They were shouting at Father, "Untie your horse and your cow!" Father said, "You want them, untie them yourself." In a little while Father came back, in great distress. He says that they untied them themselves, and led them away. After that we didn't sleep all night.

Next day they came back and took the other cow. We were left with nothing. Father was a splendid carpenter and joiner, he could make fur boots, and built fine stoves. Toward winter he left home to look for work, and got a job as a joiner in the Ukraine at Yedakovo Station. We too moved there, leaving our hungry home.

During the famine father built some traps, and my brother and I would catch gophers. Father was already bloated from hunger, and my middle brother starved to death. Somehow we escaped; gophers, even without salt, were still meat. Somehow my friends and I caught a cat. No one wanted to skin it, but I had already become good at trapping gophers. We boiled it in a pail in the garden, so that no one would see. There were seven of us kids, and when we divided it up, I got the head. At that time I no longer remembered what bread tasted like.

*[Signed] F.G. Kramer, Kustanay Oblast*

I often think: how could it be? Everything came up in the garden; and on the kolkhoz sugar beets [buryaki] were left on the fields and in the ground: there were mountains of them. Does that mean, that there was no terrible

drought? That speaks to the fact that the famine was made deliberately. In the Spring people were dropping like flies; entire families were dying. There were cases, where a mother would slaughter one of her children and feed her remaining children—brothers and sisters—with their sibling's flesh, so that they would survive. I myself was present in such a house, when the police removed a cast-iron pot containing a child's flesh from the oven. That mother lost her mind.

But how did our large family survive? We had a good cow, and a cellar full of sugar beets. Mother would boil a pailful of beets on the stove, mixed with milk, or she would bake flat cakes made from frozen beets gathered from the kolkhoz fields. Father had a rifle. We had a pear tree right under our window. Great flocks of crows would light in it in the evening. Father would stick the gun out the window and shoot them. Mother would then clean them and make a stew. And that is how we survived the terrible famine.

*[Signed] M.I. Piskun, Kakhovskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast*

Grigoriy Petrovich Kasyanov was a fine tailor. For his work, he earned six puds of rye, but he surrendered his grain to the state under the pressure of the Komsod [Assistance Committee]. Nevertheless, they did not forgive him and he was sent to prison, where he died. His wife was left with three children, the youngest of which was six weeks old. The Komsod also took a cast iron pot containing cabbage stew from the oven, and threw the contents onto the floor. When the mother tearfully began to beg them not to throw out this food, a member of the Komsod—a local woman named Kondratyeva—forced the mother and her children to lick up the cabbage from the floor. That winter, the mother and her nursing baby died. The two older boys were rescued by relatives.

*[Signed] Ye. Nazarova, Verkhnedonskoy Rayon, Rostov Oblast*

It was impossible to look upon, and hear, how the hungry children suffered. They ask for food, and the mother stands there pulling out her hair. One woman, who had four small children, killed the smallest one at night, and then went out and hung herself. What a horror! People were lying about on the roads, on the fields, in the swamps, in their own yards and houses. Our song-loving Ukraine, and the voices of the children, fell silent. Brigades were formed to collect the victims; they were paid with bread. But there were also such heartless people who also took those who had not died yet, though they were very weak. A man asks, "Why are you taking me? I'm alive." But they answer him, "So I won't have to come for you tomorrow."

*[Signed] T.V. Gorokhova, Moscow Oblast*

When the rye matured, they began to reap. The people were very weak. They were swaying in the wind. Our chairman decided to give each household ten sheaves of

rye. People made groats and ate them. But there were still spies in the area, and the bosses came down from the rayon and arrested the chairman for giving out the ten sheaves, and put him on trial. The people defended their chairman, but no one paid any heed to this, and he was given five years. It was a good thing that the chairman himself was a member of Kotovskiy's partisan detachment, and after six months he was exonerated.

[Signed] A.S. Golovanyuk, Ananevskiy Rayon, Odessa Oblast

In 1933, when there was severe famine throughout the land, I was working as a bookkeeper at the Samayevskiy grain procurement point. I kept the current accounts and knew precisely how much grain there was in the storehouses. We had five storehouses with an overall capacity of 740 tons on 1 June 1933, but no orders or instructions to dispense food to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes were given. One must believe that the famine was created not only because of a shortage of grain, but that it was deliberate.

At the start of the collectivization, many cattle were taken from the peasants in our rayon under various pretexts. The cattle were driven to the Kovylkinskiy cattle procurement point under the open sky; then it rained and severe cold set in: the cattle became frozen in the mud and died by the thousands. Little-by-little they managed to cart away the carcasses of the cattle to burying grounds. In this manner great harm was done to our commonwealth.

[Signed] G.I. Lapin, Kovylkinskiy Rayon, Mordovian ASSR

The mass famine of 1932-1933, which struck the grain region of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Volga Basin, Kazakhstan and the Urals, took, by approximate estimates, 3-4 million human lives.

**Kharkov Militia Disrupt Petition Collection Drive**  
18000958 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian  
22 Mar 89 p 1

[Letter by S. Bobok, Kharkov State University student: "Test of Democracy"; under the rubric "Youths' World"]

[Text] The decision was made to collect signatures in front of the Zhdanov movie theater. One way or another Zhdanov's participation in Stalinist repressions had come to light. Naturally, there were demands in Kharkov to change the name of the movie theater. The oblast youth newspaper itself came forward with just such a proposal, but the city authorities did not rush to act. And then a group of young people took the initiative upon themselves.

People approached the youths. They signed the appeal to the gorispolkom. However, this did not last long. This is how members of the initiative group describe events: "First two militiamen approached. We explained the purpose of our actions. They had nothing against this. But after some time militia major A. Slipchenko, head of the Kiev Rayon Department of Internal Affairs, appeared. He announced that the rayon department had received several calls. He said people were complaining that we were collecting a crowd at the movie theater and causing a ruckus. Slipchenko forbade the further collection of signatures and took away the passport of one of the youths, as well as all the papers we had on us, and suggested we go to the rayon department. There he announced that we were acting unlawfully and blocking the passageway. In a word, this did not conform to reality. However, we decided not to exacerbate matters and asked that a place be allotted to us to collect signatures. He told us to come back in a few days."

I was present at the next meeting with members of the initiative group. At that time I was a member of the press center of the Kharkov gorkom Komsomol. The conversation was a difficult one, but the ending to the story is a happy one. Having collected more than 1200 signatures, the kids sent their petition to the gorispolkom.

Now the movie theater is named the "Druzhba". This question has been resolved. But other questions remain. How should the actions of Major Slipchenko be assessed from a professional-legal point of view? Why was an attempt by the people to realize their constitutional rights thwarted by a disrespectful conversation in the militia rayon department?

**Armenian Party, Government Exhort Energy Conservation**  
18220052 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
14 Feb 89 p 1

[Text of address by central committee of Armenian Communist Party, Presidium of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and Armenian SSR Soviet of Ministers: "To All Workers And Residents Of The Republic"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

In light of the wishes of the people, the CPSU central committee and the USSR Soviet of Ministers have made the exceptionally important decision to shut down the units of the Armenian Atomic Power Plant. The workers and people of the republic have expressed both gratitude for and approval of this decision, and regard it as another example of party and government concern for the Armenian people.

We are pleased to note that this important project, which emanated from the September (1988) plenum of the Armenian Communist Party central committee, will be completed ahead of schedule.

At the same time, there will be significant difficulties in providing the republic with a steady supply of electricity. If homes and industry do not take immediate steps to conserve energy, and if power-producing capacities are not increased, the shut down of the Armenian AES ahead of schedule could cause major power supply problems for industrial and domestic users in the republic and throughout the Transcaucasian area, especially in fall and winter. Another factor making the job of providing energy difficult is the effort to rebuild cities and villages destroyed by the earthquake, since this effort will require large supplemental energy inputs.

In light of the situation, the Armenian Communist Party central committee and the Armenian SSR Soviet of Ministers are taking steps to balance the production and consumption of electricity. The AES is being converted into a thermal power station; the effort to add four additional power units at the Razdanskiy GRES is being stepped up; usage levels at existing power stations are being upped; and energy-producing capacities are being retooled and realigned.

Time will certainly be needed to fully implement these shortage-cutting measures. Currently, the main—and for all intents and purposes only—way to stabilize domestic and industrial energy supplies is to conserve energy across the board.

It is no exaggeration to say the implementation of the integrated electrical energy conservation program is a nationwide job. To a great degree, it will only be possible to complete this job if every citizen shows the requisite degree of responsibility, civic pride, and patriotism. Party, government, labor union, komsomol, and economic organizations must put their considerable resources to work spreading the message that electrical energy usage in industry must be kept at the minimum possible level, and that domestic energy users must adopt a conservation-minded attitude in the home. Print media need to be used aggressively, while the public should be more involved in implementing a program of energy conservation. In short, because this issue affects the fundamental welfare of the republic and is the key to its progress, apathy is unacceptable.

By February 12, every ministry, department, enterprise, shop, and production area must design and begin the implementation of a clearly articulated, effective, long-term program of energy conservation. Such a program will include a serious effort to identify and correct any wasteful attitude toward the use of energy.

Conservation should begin with every family keeping strict tabs on the amount of energy it uses. The same applies to residents of apartment buildings and individuals using recreational facilities. Everyone needs to be profoundly aware that leaving on a single unnecessary heater or light bulb is an unacceptable waste of energy. Everyone—every resident of the republic—needs to become involved in the campaign to conserve energy.

The Armenian Communist Party central committee, the Armenian SSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian SSR Soviet of Ministers appeal to all workers and residents of the republic to: display superior civic maturity; comprehend and be fully aware of the measures to conserve and efficiently use energy; and, in the wake of the AES shut-down, to participate actively in implementing these measures.

#### New Harvest Technology, Equipment Needed in Kazakhstan

18300405 Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 19 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by S. Plokhov, candidate of technical sciences: "A Testing Ground of Patience?"]

[Text] An article published by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA on August 31, 1988 entitled "The Price of Bread" described organizational and economic difficulties inherent in introducing progressive methods of transporting grain. But the environmental aspects of the problems were mentioned in that article only in passing.

Today, we print an article detailing the cost of the old methods and thinking inertia's persistence to all of us from the environmental point of view.

The whole world is alarmed by the coming retribution for disturbing the ecological balance. We are shocked to find out that there is not a drop of water left in Uzbekistan not poisoned by deadly chemicals. We are no less shocked at the news that due to the residue of the smoke blown from Ekibastus smokestacks, cows in Mongolia lose their teeth in 3 years. Yet, having learned the truth, do we change our living and working habits? "Look at the sky," said an agricultural combine driver at the "Zagradovskiy" sovkhoz, North Kazakhstan Oblast, in reply to a suggestion to switch from the on-the-field grain loading method to the portion method and pointed at a dark cloud. "Who cares about the sky?" a truck driver taking part in the conversation burst in excitedly. "What do you think happens to the soil when we chase your combines around the field on our extremely heavy trucks?"

Who is right?

Soil specialists claim that our fields have lost more than one quarter of their humus, that fertile natural treasure, in recent years. To restore a single centimeter of the humus layer requires at least a century. This is not only the result of the practice of utilizing the soil's wealth without replenishing it but also of the barbaric destruction of it by truck wheels. Trucks literally grind the topsoil, which is rich in humus, turning it into dust which is then blown away by the wind. They also break leftover stubble, which retains moisture. Academician A.I.Ibrayev once calculated that if the stubble is destroyed, grain yields fall by 200 kilograms per hectare in the virgin soil region.

For many years, specialists in various regions of the country have claimed that the wheels of modern trucks and tractor trailers destroy the structure of the soil, creating extremely dense soil under the plowed layer, and as a result of this yields on the plowland fall by one third.

"Wherever a K-700 tractor trailer passes, corn grows low and sparse for three years thereafter," A.Zh.Koshchegulov, the chief agronomist of the "Iliyskiy" sovkhoz, Alma Ata Oblast, said at an industry seminar. "To fill up a KamAZ truck or a K-700 tractor trailer takes 4 to 5 combine loads of grain. In other words, you would have to get to 4 or 5 combines, cover a distance of 5 to 8 kilometers and destroy the structure of the soil on an area of 0.5 to 0.8 hectares. As a result, yields on the area traveled by that one grain transporter on just one trip will fall by 160 to 250 kilograms next year."

"The black soil fields of the North Kazakhstan Oblast have felt the impact of those wheels," said drivers from the "Ozerniy" sovkhoz, Dzhambulskiy rayon. "The fields have become like airport runways and yields have declined."

With increasing frequency, fields with a compressed layer of soil underneath, even when properly worked, produce fewer shoots than tillers of the soil expect.

Soil specialists explain that at the early stages of germination of spring wheat, its nutrients come from the moisture at a level of 20 centimeters. When the plant bushes out and until culms appear, a layer 50 centimeters deep comes into play. During the period when kernels are formed and until maturity, the moisture comes from a layer 1 meter deep. In the artificially compressed soil, the supply of air and moisture is disrupted and the development of the plants after germination is stunted. Even the method of restoring supply routes in the soil by defrosting it does not help.

The compressed soil absorbs neither melted snow nor rainwater. On the surface of such fields puddles are formed, and if there is a small incline of as much as 1 degree, the water runs off them washing away both the topsoil and fertilizers. "Used to be spring floodwaters were lighter," say the locals. "And less poisonous," add the doctors. The water carries pesticides and other poisonous chemicals into rivers and lakes, where they cause great harm. And where there is no incline, stagnant swamps appear.

Many specialists were surprised by the findings of a Don agronomist P.T.Zolotarev that structural changes in the soil cause droughts. In the past, the soil used to absorb annual precipitation in its entirety and ground sources were replenished with that water. A layer of dying plants on the surface protected moisture from evaporation. Now, the soil, having been scarred by the plow and compressed by truck wheels, has lost its upper layer and its ability to absorb moisture. Denuded, it is exposed to

the rays of the sun. The top 1 centimeter of its surface heats up to 82 degrees centigrade. The air is also heated by the contact with it and rises upward. New layers of air come into contact with the soil and strong air currents develop. This dry wind dries up the moist surface of the soil in only 24 hours. The desiccation weakens the shoots, stunts the development of the roots and kills microorganisms in the soil. The soil and the air thus dry out and the drought ensues.

It is difficult to accept the bitter truth that trucks are partly responsible for these ills, or that their unconstrained movement around the fields causes the dangerous wind, air and biological erosion of the soil.

"The bitterness also stems from the fact that these deadly runs on the surface of the fields later cost additional efforts and expenditures of time and fuel, since the soil will have to be worked in a special way," say experienced corn growers and lower their eyes.

During harvesting, too, losses occur when old harvesting methods are used.

"We waste 2 or 3 hours every day waiting for the trucks to come," say combine drivers.

"We waste more than half of the shift waiting for the combines to send us a signal that they are ready to load the grain and making those exhausting runs from one combine to the next," say truck drivers.

In the republic overall, such losses are equivalent to the loss of at least 15,000 harvesting combines for the entire harvesting season. To make runs totaling 13 million kilometers on stubble fields, 6,000 extra trucks a day are needed. This is the price of clinging to the 50 year-old working methods.

V.A.Leys, a combine driver at the "Roslavlskiy" sovkhoz, Alma Ata Oblast, has rejected those methods and tried the portion harvesting method. He said afterwards: "I love machines and I was pained to see how the drivers, using the old method, damaged their trucks on the stubble field. But no longer. Now, I produce 5 to 6 extra loads each day." This amounts to 10 tons of grain per day. "As an agronomist, I am happy that the stubble is undamaged in the field," said N.A.Yepanchin, the head of agrotechnical services at the same sovkhoz. "It helps retain moisture in the soil and protects it against wind erosion."

In the past year, at sovkhozes of the North Kazakhstan Oblast 182 general harvesting and transport teams have been set up using regular machinery. They use 1,670 combines. The productivity of the teams using the multi-trailer method rose 16 percent and that of the teams using the portion method 24 percent. As a result, the harvest was gathered 4 days ahead of schedule and 3,700 tons of grain was saved from being lost; meanwhile the soil was also preserved.

Even though truck hauling capacities were not used in full, the need for trucks was cut by 876 units, and the area of wheel marks was cut by 33,300 hectares. In some teams, results were even better. For instance, F.I.Bekker's group at the "Vozvyshinskiy" sovkhoz, North Kazakhstan Oblast, used the portion method and not only spared the soil but achieved record productivity for its combines and trucks. In the 18 days of the harvest period drivers P.I.Vaal and A.A.Geyneman working on ZIL-MMZ-555 trucks with two-way trailers hauled 5,065 tons of grain, averaging 140.7 tons per truck-day; the figure for trucks hauling grain directly from combines was only 19 tons. This is a convincing difference. Similar examples are found in other oblasts of the republic. They point to a great hidden potential here.

Wherever sovkhoz management and chief agronomists wanted to save the soil and economize resources, nothing stood in their way: neither the shape and size of the fields, nor the average yields, nor the lack of experience among drivers, nor the shortage of trailers—and none of the numerous other reasons that are always so easy to find. Especially useful were the multi-trailer and portion methods at teams that had switched to contract leasing. At their worst, the runs of trucks on the field surface were cut by a factor of five.

Experience shows that if the length of truck runs on the field was cut by 0.5 kilometers for each ton of grain loaded from combines, the soil structure would be spared on some 1.3 million hectares of Kazakhstan sovkhoz land in the course of the harvesting season. Gains from the extra grain harvested and from reduced expenses on working the damaged soil would add up to R30 million to R40 million.

Since he no longer needed to waste time waiting for the trucks to drive up, every combine driver would increase his grain production by 60 tons and would cut the wastage of grain by R480 to R500.

By ending the practice of running on the field surface that is so destructive to the soil, trailers could be used more efficiently in both the multi-trailer and portion methods, the number of trucks taken off construction and other equally important projects would be reduced threefold and costs would be cut R40 million.

Lithuanian writer V.Petkyavichus said at the plenum of the USSR Writers' Union management: "Scientists have calculated that every ruble saved by not protecting the environment will result in a loss of R3.80 a year later."

Shocked, we ask once again: "Why do we spend tens of millions of rubles and burn dozens of tons of fuel to fill the air with exhaust, turn the fertile layer of soil into dust and kill the plowfields?"

What do we need to break this vicious circle which has turned our land, with its countless plowfields, into a testing ground of patience? We need the interests of the

peasant and the transport worker to dovetail, and we also need decisive actions by the soviets of the people's deputies and economic organizations in this area. A driver who has discovered the benefits of the hauling methods that spare the soil would say that we must overcome the pull of old habits and distrust for the new. And the most important thing is to reject the principle of chasing after quick profits, as well as wasteful methods, would add an economist who takes everything into account. We should not penalize the labor collectives of sovkhozes and trucking companies for wanting to protect the soil and economize their resources by forcing them to work at farms which ignore these highly productive work methods.

The profound conviction that we must introduce new and economical hauling methods must be underpinned by concrete actions in technological policy, education on environmental protection and moral and material support for all active initiatives. When will such support come? Time does not stand still. The lack of response to the existing outrageous situation has already plunged many people into an embryo-like state of indifference. The thunder is already heard, telling us of the destruction of the land by machines and of its horrible disease. We need active measures to preserve the fertility of the soil, this treasure of nature.

#### Editorial Comment

In the above-mentioned article "The Price of Bread" and in a number of others, this newspaper has repeatedly written about the unacceptably slow pace at which transport methods which help protect the soil and economize resources is being introduced in Kazakhstan. In addition to S.G.Plokhover's proposals, new harvesting methods have been developed by M.G.Penkin, Ph.D. in Technical Sciences. But the republic's Gosagroprom, planning and financial entities and other competent authorities maintain their silence on this issue. As they say, silence means agreement. But if everyone agrees on the issues raised by the newspaper, why is it that no one actively implements these progressive methods?

The high efficiency, universal applicability and great promise of the multi-trailer and portion methods are proof of their social and economic value. Thanks to these methods, harvesting and hauling can be accomplished with fewer pieces of equipment and less labor, saving tens of millions of rubles. At the same time, they help shorten the harvesting period, which is important in our climate.

Many documents have been approved by ministries and agencies calling for the implementation of those methods, but not a single one of them has attempted to deal with conditions hampering their implementation.

Voluntaristic methods persist in pressing trucks into service during the harvesting season; at times, even the views of some kolkhoz and sovkhoz managers on their needs are disregarded. Trucks are commonly sent to kolkhozes at a ratio of 0.8 or 1.0 trucks for each combine.

The following calculations show how wasteful this practice is. The average productivity of a combine has for many years been below 15 tons of grain per day, while a truck is able to transport 120 to 180 tons, i.e. 8 to 12 times as much. Meanwhile, to move 1,000 trucks from a different part of the country costs R1.5 million to R2 million.

No one computes the losses of corn and other agricultural products which occur as a result of harvesting schedule violations; there are no restrictions on driving on the field service, nor are there any norms for hauling expenses during harvesting. Consequently, the proposals and actual work accomplished at a number of rayons in the republic to shorten the harvesting period, cut crop losses and transportation expenses and reduce the number of trucks used in harvesting have not been in any way encouraged. On the contrary, the wages of drivers working on tractors with several trailers are lower than of those working on regular trucks or with a single trailer. Moreover, drivers do not get paid for the labor-intensive task of putting together long auto trains in the fields.

There are other difficulties, as well. Business and economic relations between sovkhozes and the so-called extension purchasing centers remain unchanged: nothing has been done to encourage the delivery of well-threshed grain from the fields, without the costly additional processing at the threshing floor, or to use the capacity of those purchasing centers to thresh grain for sovkhozes on a contract basis and at an agreed-upon fee.

The Agroprom has not prepared any methodological materials to teach grain transport methods that help protect the soil and economize resources at technical schools, or even at its own training courses for agricultural workers.

Even though the USSR Gosagroprom has approved the multi-trailer and portion grain hauling methods, no funds have been budgeted in the republic to develop such methods further or to introduce it.

The editors feel it is their duty to point out that the tens of millions of rubles wasted every year because scientifically proven methods are ignored are direct losses and a burden on the republic's economy.

The danger posed by the wasteful use of the fertility of the land and the moral losses stemming from the persistence of obsolete hauling methods have become painfully clear. It is time to think about the future. There is still time before the start of this year's harvesting season. Will this year, too, just as in the previous 25, progressive methods be used only at a handful of farms and rayons?

At the current pace, for the entire republic to switch to the new methods would take 30 years. This is unacceptable. We need urgent measures to change the situation for the better. The soil can wait no longer.

#### Kazakh Gosplan Chairman on Regional Economic Accountability

18300426 Alma Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 3 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Deputy Chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, KaSSR Gosplan Chairman K.A. Abdullayev by KazTAG correspondent V. Akimov: "The Stronger the Republic, the Stronger the State"]

[Text] Economic accountability is the cornerstone of the economic system that is now being developed. Starting this year, all goods-producing industries have been functioning on this solid basis. The logic of radical economic reform suggests that self-management and self-financing, which have gained a firm foothold at the grassroot level—in shops, enterprises and now whole industries—must become the foundation of the economies of entire regions and republics.

The relevance and importance of implementing real accountability is especially significant at this crucial stage of perestroika when, among other things, long-festered and acute problems in inter-ethnic relations have come to the fore; these problems will be discussed comprehensively and in depth at the CPSU Central Committee's plenum set for the middle of this year. These problems are complex and diverse, but the key to their solution lies in the Marxian base, i.e. the economy. We have been given proof that this is a right approach by the radical changes underway in the Soviet society and by the very logic of life.

In an issue of such great importance there is no final or incontrovertible truth or a single criterium for every region, and there can be none, as each one of those regions is essentially unique or exceptional. Our goal is to seek collectively a mutually acceptable position and to comprehensively broaden and develop the main means of making the entire economic management system more democratic and of increasing economic independence of the republics.

This, along with various problems related to regional economic accountability, was the subject of a conversation between Deputy Chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, KaSSR Gosplan Chairman K.A. Abdullayev and KazTAG correspondent V. Akimov.

[Akimov] Reading articles in the press and listening to discussions on the radio and television, one finds diverse and often mutually exclusive interpretations of regional economic accountability. Therefore, I would like to begin by asking how you, Kalyk Abdullayevich, would define this term.

[Abdullayev] First of all I want to note that now we have a key document on the subject which provides a comprehensive analysis of existing problems and pinpoints ways to solve them. I am talking about the draft of the General Principles of Restructuring of Economic and Social Management in Union Republics Based on Self-Management and Self-Financing; this document, as is well-known, was discussed on February 16 at the meeting of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo. There are plans to publish this document for open discussion, and the readers will have a chance to become familiar with its main points. I would only like to stress one important point: all union republics, as well as prominent specialists not only in economics but, what is especially important, the law, took part in drafting this document.

Now about the term regional accountability. In our opinion, it should at present mean only the use of certain important elements of self-financing, since appropriate economic conditions do not yet exist for full implementation of self-financing in the traditional sense of the word. In other words, in our opinion, regional accountability means more economic independence for union republics, oblasts and rayon and restructuring of economic management on that territory based on the principles of self-management and self-financing, which is a regional equivalent of the accountability principle in territorial management. I would like to point out that it is impossible to graft the principles that govern self-financing at the basic production link, i.e. at the enterprise, onto territorial economic accountability. The reason is the following: at the territorial level, profit maximization can never be the ultimate goal. Here, considerations of a higher economic and social order, those which safeguard the interests of the entire state, come into play.

Thus the conclusions: first, when the above-mentioned principles are implemented, their main goal should be to develop and tap as much as possible regional sources of economic growth in order to attain steady, dynamic progress in each union republic and region; second, by implementing those principles we should try to strengthen our entire multi-ethnic Soviet state and increase the efficiency of its integrated economic system; and third, they should help restore full power to the soviets and achieve general harmony in inter-ethnic relations.

[Akimov] In some places, those who are developing the concept of regional accountability seem to take it to mean nearly total closing of their republics' economies. In light of what you have just said, can we assume that the KaSSR's position is to combine greater independence with a greater role for central authorities?

[Abdullayev] Indeed, our republic advocates the combination of strong center and strong republics. There is no other way. As M.S.Gorbachev noted at the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with prominent scientists and

cultural figures, this stems from the very nature of the Soviet economy and of our federal state. Clearly there can be no doubt that only the center is able coordinate the goals of the country as a whole and of its regions, harmonize different regional interests, make decisions that have strategic significance for the entire country and ensure equitable proportions in the economy.

On the other hand, it is important to understand correctly the logic of interrelation between center and periphery and interconnections between coordination on the one hand and initiative and local independence on the other. In other words, we should always be guided by the principle: what is good for the entire country is unconditionally good for every union republic, oblast, rayon, city or village. In our opinion, this can be achieved by broadening significantly the authority of the KaSSR government and local soviets in issues of economic and social development. Local authorities must have more independence in making decisions on the structure of local economies and their development paths, and in resolving other important questions. This means that regional accountability calls for powerful local authorities responsible for improving economic activity on the entire territory of their respective regions and for tapping all available resources in an effort to raise production efficiency. This is why giving full powers to the councils of ministers of union republics and local soviets of the people's deputies will benefit the entire state and will alter the character of their interaction with the center.

Giving independence to republic and local authorities and broadening their rights and responsibilities should by no means lead to isolation of their economies. Today, when integration is spreading and accelerating the world over, closing a republic's economy would be anachronistic.

In our opinion, the concept of regional economic accountability advanced in some republics, entailing exclusive ownership by the republic of all lands, natural inland waterways, territorial waters and other resources, as well as all the property (created, incidentally, using state funds), and the right to issue its own currency, undermines the foundations of our common state. We feel that we should not risk creating a situation whereby the centrifugal force overwhelms the centripetal one. We support the objective approach. Regardless of whether or not the authors of those ideas mean it, such experiments can only lead to national separation and weaken of the socialist state that we hold so dear.

We support openness in our relations with other union republics, in economic as well as cultural spheres. We must assess those issues in a new way. Life calls for fundamentally new, direct ties among republics and regions. In this field, we need a systematic approach, profound analysis and scientific attitude. We must reject the useless practice of effecting all ties through Moscow,

which encourages bureaucratism at the center and parasitism at the local level. A great potential exists for establishing direct ties. For instance, at the recent meeting of the chairmen of the councils of ministers of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan which took place in Dushanbe, and during preparations for it, many ways of improving ties among the republics in industry, science, culture, education, environmental protection and health care were identified and discussed. It was found to be useful to strengthen mutually profitable cooperation among most important enterprises of the republics by means of direct contracts, mutual supply agreements and joint enterprises. Joint production and exchange of consumer goods and local construction materials was thought to be especially important.

To accelerate technological progress, setting up inter-republican research organizations and providing joint funding for important research and development projects was discussed. Common history, geographic proximity and similarities in economic, social and demographic problems create favorable conditions for closer ties among our republics in various spheres. Based on this, a list of proposed measures has been adopted, designed to strengthening both the center and the republics.

[Akimov] Since the principle calls for greater coordination among all union republics, there probably should be joint efforts with other regions as well. Is this so?

[Abdullayev] Of course other, inter-regional ties are equally important, and they should also be placed on a qualitatively new basis. In this area, joint efforts could be applied to develop and implement programs utilizing partners' technological and resource capabilities. For instance, at the request of the republic's government, we have begun to explore these opportunities with the gosplans of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldavia.

Last month, our employees visited those republics to discuss cooperation among the gosplans during the shift to regional economic accountability. We proposed to identify main areas where efforts to accelerate the development of our republics could be coordinated, and this proposal met the approval of the gosplans of the Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldavia. We agreed to discuss this issue at board meetings and to pass appropriate general decisions.

We proposed setting up permanent working groups on strengthening economic ties among the republics based on developing cooperatives and joint ventures, stimulating mutually beneficial trade and sharing experience in economic management under new economic management conditions. Taking into account special features of our republics' economies, we feel that the work in this area should be a little different. Here, the most promising path is to combine technological plans with our vast natural resources and free labor pool. We offered those republics to set up joint research projects to solve economic problems that are in our common interest. An

exchange of exhibitions detailing economic, scientific and cultural achievements of the republics and various regularly scheduled fairs would also promote stronger ties among our republics.

In this respect, I would like to mention one more thing. In addition to strengthening ties with other republics, we must improve contacts among different oblasts, raising them to a new level and increasing their participation in the process of integration. I am suggesting that such ties should be established both within the republic and with oblasts of other republics.

As practice has shown, direct economic ties among oblasts are developing slowly in our republic, which does not help enlarge the regional market or switch to self-sufficiency and self-financing. Local initiative is needed to carry out this work. For its part, the Gosplan will help us establish direct ties with oblasts and cities in other union republics and will provide information about opportunities for mutually beneficial economic cooperation.

I am deeply convinced that direct economic ties among republics and oblasts will not only lead to better integration but, which is important, help strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among nationalities and ethnic groups.

[Akimov] Kalyk Abdullayevich, judging from what you have said, union republics and regions should get a greater say in decisions affecting social and economic development of their territories. But what needs to be done to turn local soviets into true and powerful masters within their territories?

[Abdullayev] The draft of general principles calls for a significantly greater independence of local soviets as the main element of self-management. In our opinion, the key here is the logical and effective division of functions and managerial responsibilities among the center, the republic and the local soviet. To begin with, local soviets should get the authority to set up managerial frameworks; local soviet entities should be given the power to manage economic and social development of their districts. Similar attempts have been made in this country before, but they were halfhearted and did not produce desired results. Their main shortcoming was that they did not create the appropriate legal and economic structure. In the existing system, with local authorities having practically no leverage over the economic activity of enterprises and organizations reporting to union-level entities, and even over some enterprises reporting to republic-level entities, they are unable to ensure comprehensive development of the region. It is no secret that today, as a rule, union-level enterprises refuse to coordinate their production plans with the soviet in whose districts they are based. Thus, we need first of all to establish exact order in relations between union-level

## REGIONAL ISSUES

enterprises and local authorities. The need to set up such a framework can be shown in the following case. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Trade Union Council on improving the work of local authorities made local and republic authorities responsible for providing consumer goods and services for the population and for balancing money income and expenditures of the population. Unfortunately, while they already face this great responsibility, republics, oblasts and rayons still lack the needed rights. For instance, the output of consumer goods is planned by union-level ministries and enterprises, whereas local soviets, at best, only coordinate their plans. As to setting up the production of some much demanded goods, local authorities are unable to do it as large union-level enterprises do not want to be burdened with such orders.

With respect to this situation, we feel that the task of supervising the production of food and consumer goods should be concentrated in the hands of the republics and local soviets; for this purpose, they must get the right to issue state orders to all enterprises situated on their territory. Let me stress that this rule must apply to every single enterprise, regardless of which administrative entity it reports to. Only in this case local authorities will be able to improve the supply of consumer goods.

Moreover, local authorities should be allowed to use a part of the capacities of union-level enterprises to solve regional problems. This is especially important during the shift to new economic management methods, when the republics will take command of Group B enterprises which, as is well-known, are especially in need of technological retooling. To settle this issue legally, the share allotted to local authorities' orders could be set in advance—let us say, at 10 percent of the existing capacity of union-level enterprises.

[Akimov] In other words we are talking about making the governments of union republics and local soviets true masters within their territories. This issue is essentially the core of perestroika. But there must be great difficulties in switching to regional economic accountability, as well. Is this not true?

[Abdullayev] The most difficult task in regional accountability is to develop a reliable, scientifically proven system of accountability. In other words, we must make sure that income from the sale of goods and fees for various work and services produced in the republic cover all relevant expenditures incurred to produce them.

The analysis of trends in Kazakhstan's economy under the existing system of state revenue generation shows that no objective impetus for change exists here in the absence of radical revisions. What I mean here is that we need to solve a number of problems centrally. These problems were discussed convincingly and in detail by N.A.Nazarbayev, Chairman of the KaSSR Council of Ministers, in EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No.5,

1989. I would only like to note that without revising wholesale prices taking into account required labor expenditures, without changing the tax system, without setting the exact amount of contributions to republic and local budgets by union-level enterprises and organizations from their profits (and establishing procedures for paying them); finally, without reimbursing local authorities from the federal budget for paying price differentials on agricultural products, it would be impossible to create conditions for switching to full self-financing in all republics.

As is well-known, thanks to the existing price and tax system, some industries in the economy are not currently very profitable and, once we shift to regional accountability, they may start to post losses. As a result, local authorities will promote profitable industries one way or another. Yet, unprofitable industries may be very important for the union and neglecting them may weaken the country's integrated economy.

We need to create economic incentives for local authorities to make sure that all enterprises on their territory are profitable. In other words, union-level enterprises should pay a share of their profits to local and republic budgets, as well as an appropriate fee for using local natural, labor and other resources; such contributions would bolster the material base of the entire region's economy.

I think that union-level entities will find an acceptable solution to these problems. At the same time, there are problems that our republic needs to solve before its economy can shift to regional accountability.

In this respect, the underutilized industrial potential in the republic is an important reserve. Calculations show that full utilization of existing capacities at enterprises would add R1 billion worth of goods a year without any new capital investment. But to achieve this, every oblast and rayon must study the level of development of its economy and capacity utilization rates and assess its reserves and existing opportunities for improving production efficiency, technological level and product quality.

Another problem is the need to improve our economic structure, especially in industry, and to raise the share of processing industries. At the request of the Kazakhstan Communist Party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, we have drafted a set of proposals to improve the economic structure during the 13th and 14th 5-year plan periods, which have been approved in principle by union-level organizations.

[Akimov] Kalyk Abdullayevich, how do you expect to begin developing the principles and the framework of economic accountability?

[Abdullayev] I think that we should start at the republic and oblast level, and, as necessary conditions are created, include rayons and cities. At the republic level, we have computed the approximate size of income and expenditures in the budget, based on the principles of self-management and self-financing, and similar calculations should be made locally. Of course, they will need methodological assistance, which the gosplan and other republican economic entities will provide.

First of all, we must find ways to improve the economy, carefully manage the territorial economy and promote balanced development of the region. Under the new conditions, the opportunity for social and economic development of different oblasts of the republic will depend entirely on their own financial resources. In other words, they will depend on the results of the economic activity of the entire territory. This is why every ispolkom must know what its financial and other resources are and what it must do to make up for the shortfalls. The basic principle will be that the oblast accumulates financial contributions from enterprises and organizations situated on its territory and based on their amount tries to achieve its economic goals. Every ispolkom must know its economic potential and its needs; its main goal will be to balance them.

Under regional accountability, when local economies become integrated and joint, we can no longer allow weak links. This is why during the remainder of the current 5-year plan thorough measures must be taken to eliminate losses at enterprises and improve their industrial and financial results. In the future, it will no longer be acceptable that in Aktyubinsk Oblast, for instance, a chemical plant uses only 50-to-60 percent of its capacity and the Chilikayskiy phosphorite mine only 40-to-60 percent, that in Alma Ata Oblast, the Kargalinskiy broadcloth plant uses 85-to-88 percent of capacity and in Karaganda Oblast, the "Karagandamebel" furniture complex only 85 percent. The situation with capacity utilization should improve also at the Guryev chemical plant, the Dzhambul furniture factory, the "Kaztyazh-promarmatura" plant in East Kazakhstan Oblast, the tire repair, garment and shoe plants in Kustanay Oblast, the furniture factory in Semipalatinsk Oblast and the spaghetti making facility in Kzyl-Orda Oblast. This list can go on, but the above-mentioned examples suffice to show that this work has been very unsatisfactory and there is much room for improvement.

[Akimov] There are many difficulties in the republic's path to self-financing. What else should be done in this area?

[Abdullayev] Now we are starting to work on the draft of the next 5-year plan, the main priorities of which have already been set for our republic. Great efforts will be made to upgrade the level of social and economic development in a number of oblasts which are lagging behind for various reasons. Meanwhile, we should also strengthen the economic potential of many rayons of the

republic. For this reason, we should seriously think how we can improve the economic structure at the local level and equalize the level of economic and social development at different regions.

While introducing the principles of regional economic accountability, we must be fully aware that based on the forecast for such economic systems the lag in economic development of different republics and oblast will persist and in a number of cases may even widen. We propose that to resolve issues of all-union importance special programs be implemented, funded from the federal budget; such issues include, above of all, the need to equalize the level of social and economic development of different republics and environmental problems. A similar system should be set up in the republic. This will be a true manifestation of the principle of social justice.

[Akimov] It would be interesting to know what changes will occur in the planning system under regional economic accountability.

[Abdullayev] The shift to regional accountability entails radical changes for the entire planning system. First of all, the role of union republics and regions in their own comprehensive development will be strengthened. The importance of the general plan will have to be raised. It should be developed from below by local soviets themselves, based on projections for all economic entities in their own system and for enterprises reporting to higher authorities. Indicators and levels of economic and social development, set in accordance with the norms in the Law on State Enterprises (Complexes), should be compulsory for every enterprise and organization situated in the region.

Moreover, it is important that union ministries and agencies coordinate base figures for the plan with the councils of ministers of union republics. The participation of republican entities in setting those figures does not violate the law on state enterprises and does not limit the independence of enterprises. For instance, charges for the use of labor resources, land and water will be set by union republics. Yet, they are part of the base figures in the plan. We need to complement the planning process with such indicators as net output of the goods-producing industries (excluding business taxes), as well as use of inputs per ruble of net output. Unfortunately, ministries and agencies have not addressed this task properly, while local soviets, due to their stereotypical thinking, do not attach proper importance to it. It is no accident that at many places the level of economic planning is low, that required figures are not reported and controls over compliance with resource utilization norms are not kept, that little attention is paid to introducing resource-saving production technologies which leave little or no waste, setting up the production of advanced materials and introducing advanced production methods. This is why in the first three years of the current 5-year plan period, the republic saw the use of materials per ruble of gross output increase, instead of

falling as projected by the 5-year plan. This fact alone resulted in a R1 billion shortfall in national income, which deprived us of the opportunity to start working toward achieving important social goals.

Managers at all levels must understand that growth of national income means an increase in our budgetary resources and that it increases opportunities for improving the welfare of the population. Under regional accountability, the level of social services provided and the implementation of such construction projects as national theaters, clubs, schools or hospitals will fully depend on the availability of material and financial resources in the economic region.

It should be mentioned that the republic is carrying out measures to promote initiative among local soviets and to begin developing plans on an entirely new basis. Starting in 1989, capital investment and contract work figures will be given to oblast ispolkoms as a lump sum, without breaking them down by industry. Moreover, oblasts will be made responsible for drafting their own plans for total sales, paid services, consumer goods production and a number of other indicators.

[Akimov] At the conclusion of our conversation, I would like to find out when approximately our republic will start switching to self-management and self-financing?

[Abdullayev] Preparations for this are already fully underway. We expect the shift to begin at the start of the 13th 5-year plan period. I would also like to repeat once more that all republics should start from the same starting position. No single one of them should gain or lose at the expense of the others. Otherwise there will be hurts and tensions and a tendency to look for culprits among neighbors close and remote.

An important task in this area is to develop solid indicators and criteria for the development level of union republics and their contribution to the union economy. We will have to improve the methods we use to compare different republics in the area of production, distribution and consumption of goods. Based on this, we should then change the system of gathering data and providing information. In addition, we feel that it is necessary to meet an important condition, namely, that all republics switch to regional economic accountability at the same time.

#### Paper Scores Official's Views of Uzbek Crime, Interethnic Tension Link

#### PRAVDA VOSTOKA Attacks Official, Tashkent Paper

18300518 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
25 Feb 89 p 5

[Unsigned article: "Do We Know the Road Out of the Dead-End?; Reflections About One Article"]

[Text] On 23 February, the newspaper TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA published under the rubric "The Discussion Club" the answers of Uzbek SSR First

Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs E. A. Didorenko to the newspaper's questions under the headline "Those Who Aggravate Ethnic Relations Are Leading Us Along the Road into a Dead-End."

The desire of the author and the editorial staff to shed light on the many problems of interethnic relations and the struggle against criminal activities can only be hailed.

And there is in the article a lot which deserves attention and with which one must agree.

But, we will refrain from a glowing assessment of this article. There are several reasons for this. The main ones are the disregard for the high level of the discussions, the didacticism of truths in the last higher authority and the unsubstantiation of the evaluations and conclusions.

There remain no principle arguments about the high level of the discussions. They were summed up by the 19th All-Union Party Conference in its own resolution "On Glasnost": "The conference calls upon all communists and all party organizations to bring the truth to the masses and to develop actively socialist democracy, a high level of discussions..."

In this connection, an enigmatic notice to the readers of TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA compels alertness: "The desire of the interviewed person to have his answers published in full, despite their long length, has been satisfied." We see in this a "disowning" by the editorial staff of what the interviewed person says. But, really, is pluralism of opinions in the newspaper akin to a notice board of individual notices on the exchanging of living space?

Regarding this, it is stated unambiguously in that same resolution "On Glasnost": "Glasnost assumes the social, legal and moral responsibility of the mass media. Indispensable requirements in this sphere should include a high level of ideology and morals, competence, strict observance of professional ethics, absolute trustworthiness of the information..."

The current Uzbekistan CP Central Committee has clearly defined its own understanding of the discussions which are inevitable under glasnost—it supports a direct and honest position and fruitful discussions. "Such discussions," it was emphasized at a meeting in the Central Committee with scientific and cultural figures, "are the ones which make it possible to elicit and take into account more fully public opinion and the interests of the different strata of the republic's population."

But, what is in the article? It talks about everything and everything is given a peremptory, didactic evaluation, which completely excludes the discussion itself. Is it even understandable, for what reasons the first deputy minister of internal affairs came to the defense of the republic's party and government leaders?

And here is a statement from the interview: "Being guided by the content of even official publications, it is possible to asset with confidence that a far-flung shady staff of perestroika opponents is operating in the republic."

Where does such confidence come from and what are these "official publications about a shady staff of perestroika opponents"? The statement is as serious as it is unsubstantiated in the course of the interview. The resistance to perestroika on the part of "former" officials is quite widely known. But, if the apparatus of the republic's MVD has official evidence against specific "resisters," then, why are they continuing to do their black deeds? If this statement is just for the sake of rhetoric, then, what is the reason for the specific operational work, or rather, the failures to hide behind hints which agitate the people?

The facts listed in the interview have been known for a long time from the articles of PRAVDA VOSTOKA. Even the "breaking of affairs" in the republic's Supreme Court. And the resistance to T. Kh. Gdlyan's group, which was first recounted in the country's press by PRAVDA VOSTOKA back in 1987. The murders and arsons, about which the mass media also liberally told.

All this is so. But what is the republic's MVD really doing to make these items things of the past? Does it really know the way out of the dead-end? It should know. But what it is, is to be sought in vain in the interview.

But then, the listed facts have been liberally laid out in a row in order to substantiate the main concern of one of the leaders of the republic's MVD: and all this is, even the lists of extremists from informals, is an attempt to drive from the republic the people sent here to strengthen the party, economic and law-enforcement apparatuses.

Is it lawful for such a highly placed official to argue: "We and they"? "We" being those who have come to put things in order, and "they" being the ones who are wallowing in corruption and stagnation?

Yes, a lot of professionals have come to help the republic, where, in a misshapen form, there has appeared everything which we have today. They came at the request of Uzbekistan's strong forces. Is it not really necessary to work together?

But those who are against such cooperation, are not just against the "visiting Europeans"! The watershed crossed not the ethnic range, but rather, the class range. To a "native European" born a half century ago in Tashkent, they write: "It would be better for you to leave our places and Central Asia in general. If you do not leave—you will die."

This is a letter to a journalist.

They call up an Uzbek: "How can you dispute the true statement that the Uzbeks have become the slaves of cotton? You will stop disputing!"

This is a call to our correspondent.

This is where you need to look, Eduard Alekseyevich and our colleagues from TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA! They are not opposing the visitors. They are opposing the truth and the cleanliness brought about in our common home.

Yet, you have quite strange revelations: "In the territory of Uzbekistan, 10 interregional gatherings of "thieves in the law" with the participation of representatives of the criminal "authorities" have been recorded" or "The informals are camouflaged criminals with claims to the role of fighters."

Who will put an end to this? Or is the main thing now in the work of the MVD to agitate the people by such statistics and to watch from the sidelines the gatherings of "thieves in the law"? Then it would be interesting to read the interview for this specific reason. But, if, all the same, the main task of the operatives is to get rid of crime in our life, then we are interested in another statistic: are there fewer "thieves in the law" or "camouflaged informals," who are not informals at all, but rather, primitive criminals, walking around free?

But things are not well with this statistic. This is obvious from the interview itself and from the answer to the last question: "Indeed, the past year in the republic has been marked by an increase in the number of crimes recorded by the Criminal Investigation Division branch."

And farther on are theoretical arguments about the reasons for the increase in crime, of which there are many, and calls by the entire world to lean hard on bandits, robbers and rapists.

The calls are from the arsenal of recent times. But without the self-critical specification: those who are supposed to ensure our tranquillity are failing at their job. And if the general, in whose hands is the entire apparatus for suppressing this riff-raff, is lacking in self-criticism, then it is easy to understand his complaint throughout the interview: the checks and control have "muzzled" the operatives. But, indeed, crime still increased! How can it not be verified, who is responsible for this? Or is the nostalgia for the times when the categories of these workers were beyond criticism still alive?

And the last thing. We are moving toward a legal state. Is it really permissible in a newspaper article for one person to hang the label of speculator and nationalist on another—the leader of a "witch-hunt" in the republic's academic science? If someone is not in compliance with the criminal code—give the materials to the court. It and it alone is competent to decide who is who. And, if there

is evidence of an academic's carelessness—let scientists judge him and not people who are distinguished in completely different spheres.

It is difficult but necessary to disavow the infallibility of one's own opinions and admiration of one's personal position as true in the last higher authority.

And the other approaches—To whom are they useful? To whomever they please—just not to the matter at hand.

In the TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA article, there is no adoption of such a disavowal. The editorial staff evidently was pursuing the "sizzling" item, by which, it seems, we can explain the distortion in the article, which, by its own tone, is not conducive to discussion.

Criticism is a sharp weapon and it is necessary to make use of it skillfully, wisely and discretely. But this is precisely what our colleagues hardly thought about.

### TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA Counterattack Blasted

18300518 *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
16 Mar 89 p 6

[Article by the editorial staff of PRAVDA VOSTOKA: "Pluralism or 'Regimental Honor'?" ]

[Text] The answers of the republic's First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs E. A. Didorenko, published on 23 February, on the opening day of a regional conference on improving interethnic relations, in TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, to the questions of an anonymous correspondent of the newspaper evoked a negative reaction in sane-minded people. And first and foremost is the very way the problem was stated: the newspaper and E. A. Didorenko linked the increase in criminal activities in the republic, without any specific reasons, with the interethnic discord. The labels distributed liberally—without trial or investigation—to many people and groups of the community have evoked indignation.

Through the publication of the editorial article in PRAVDA VOSTOKA on 25 February, we tried to calm down the inflamed passions. At numerous meetings in labor collectives, it was emphasized that we had managed to do this. At one of the plenary sessions of the conference on interethnic relations, in a note from the hall, the ppresidium expressed the solidarity of the Uzbekistan CP Central Committee with the article in PRAVDA VOSTOKA.

After the official assessment on the part of the Central Committee of the two newspapers' positions, we decided to refrain from any further articles, since we considered the question settled.

To our deep sorrow, the editorial staff of TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, with its peculiar understanding of pluralism and the processes occurring in the republic, in its own strip with the disinformative banner headline it admires so, "Criminal Activities and Nationalism," on 15 March, having forgotten the essence of the matter, poured out a stream of mud on PRAVDA VOSTOKA, "having been exposed" in the establishment of "forbidden zones," even with an anti-Leninist attitude toward "independent people who have their own firm position," and "having been caught" in many other "sins."

What is this supposed to be—pluralism or defense of the "regimental honor"?

In this connection, the editorial staff has considered it necessary to publish letters on the touched-upon questions and the accounts from several meetings of labor collectives with a discussion of the articles of TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA and PRAVDA VOSTOKA and their resolutions. Today, we are publishing the first letters. We suppose that the results of this impartial conversation should be summed up in the party committees, whose organs our newspapers are.

### Deputy Minister's Views Labeled 'Blackmail' 18300518 *Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian 16 Mar 89 p 6

[Letter from V. S. Yegoshin, head of the Tashkent City College of Lawyers' Specialized Legal Advice Office for Motor Transport Affairs, on the instructions of its collective: "Nostalgia"]

[Text] The collective of the Tashkent City College of Lawyers' Specialized Legal Advice Office for Motor Transport Affairs, discussed at its own production meeting the article from 23 February, 1989, in the newspaper TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, in which the answers of the Uzbek SSR's first deputy minister of internal affairs, E.A. Didorenko, to the editorial staff's questions are given.

The legal advice office's multi-ethnic collective considers the article to be essentially instigative to the kindling of interethnic discord. There are also elements of chauvinism in the answers, which is particularly deplorable.

We completely reject his thought about the division of the workers of the law-enforcement agencies into the locals, who, according to E. A. Didorenko's assertions, on their own basis, either poorly skilled or corrupt, and the visitors, who are "for the establishment of Soviet power in Uzbekistan." The division of the workers of the organs of the militia, the courts and the procuracy into the "clean" visitors and the "unclean" locals is the crudest of political errors. In fact, E. A. Didorenko insults the many honest and highly principled workers,

who, at all times, including also the most difficult ones in the republic's history, have done their own duty honestly and did not consider their behavior heroic.

They are not "bringing" lawfulness and justice and it is not necessary for them to assume the pose of a hero who, by his own appearance, has made Uzbekistan happy.

It seems to us that E. Didorenko ought to fulfill, with great diligence, his own direct responsibilities for ensuring the protection of the republic's residents from criminal encroachments.

Instead of delving into the works of a scientist and reading his articles, it would be better not to permit the conducting in the republic of "congresses of thieves in the law." In the attacks on E. Yusupov, the hurt pride of an administrator, whose department can still not boast about strengthening lawfulness, shows through distinctly.

As is evident from the recent articles in the central press, in the republic over the last three years, i.e., over the time E. A. Didorenko has held his position, 445 persons were acquitted by the courts. They were paid 800,000 rubles in damage compensations. Would it not be interesting to find out, in how many instances, E. A. Didorenko himself and the associates of the apparatus subordinate to him were the "co-authors" of this scandalous violations of lawfulness?

The lawyers of the legal advice office, from their own experience, can list not a single instance of a violation by the associates subordinate to E. A. Didorenko of Soviet laws during the arrests of citizens and the beating out of them of the necessary statements, self-slanders and slanders of others.

From such facts, it is necessary to draw conclusions, but not those which E. Didorenko does. In his own answers, he testified to his own professional incompetence.

It is most likely an accident, but, in that same edition of TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, there is a short article, "The Big Speeds of a Small Screen." In it, the film "A Mockery" is mentioned. The script for this film was written by Isfandiayr, together with another author—a German by nationality. The film is about pensioner A. D. Shurygin, a Russian, who came to the defense of an Uzbek, Pulat Bakhodyrov, who was tried on a matter fabricated by the workers of the Fergana Oblispolkom's Internal Affairs Administration.

Therefore, it is impossible to agree with the charges brought forth by E. A. Didorenko against Isfandiayr of nationalism. It is high time that a person be evaluated by his deeds and not have labels hung on him.

Isfandiayr is constantly coming forth with disclosures of violations of socialist law. This is very displeasing to the MVD's first deputy minister. Is this not the reason for all the attacks on the writer?

E. A. Didorenko does not like scientists and writers who speak out against lawlessness. Even the court, which recently "dared" to acquit the innocent parties and send back for further examination poorly investigated matters, can not be pleased with such an approach.

Profound nostalgia can be felt in E. A. Didorenko's words about past times, when judges "stamped" without a murmur the sentences, copying into them the indictments drawn up in the MVD.

It is unworthy of the administrator of one of the republic's important law-enforcement agencies to accuse the Uzbek SSR Supreme Court of allowing unworthy people, who have established their own model of justice, to build a "hornets' nest" in it. It seems that we would not be mistaken in asserting that, in these insults to the court, a yearning for the model of justice when the matter of guilt or innocence was decided by the MVD workers and the court "did not get under foot" can be observed. E. A. Didorenko is attacking the court because it is becoming independent, the processes of a legal restructuring have begun in it and this does not please the first deputy minister.

We hope that the Supreme Court will not yield to the blackmail, and it is difficult to call E. A. Didorenko's utterances anything else, and will henceforth pursue a principled policy for strengthening socialist law, no matter who is doing the leading during the settling of criminal matters.

It must be stated that TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA is experiencing a peculiar predilection for articles which discredit the courts. E. A. Didorenko's attacks against the republic's Supreme Court and the judicial organs are well inscribed in the general policy of the behavior of investigation workers with respect to the court. This behavior can be called legal nihilism and it clearly contradicts the ideas of the establishment of a legal state. It will never be built if the MVD dictates to the courts through the oblast newspaper how to settle criminal matters.

Therefore, we feel that E. A. Didorenko's position on legal questions is thoroughly deleterious. We can not permit a return to the year 1937. But it is precisely to this that the road built by E. A. Didorenko's arguments in TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA leads.

The legal advice office's collective approves of the position of PRAVDA VOSTOKA presented in the article "Do We Know the Road out of the Dead-End?"

**Uzbek Mafia Ties to 'Informals' Refuted**  
*18300518 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian*  
*16 Mar 89 p 6*

[Letter from V. Vasilyev, candidate of technical sciences: "The Generals and the Informals"]

[Text] Our press has been carried away by reflections about a road in a dead-end (TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA on 2 and 23 February and PRAVDA VOSTOKA on 25 February). It is difficult to argue with the fact that the aggravation of ethnic relations leads to a dead-end. Perhaps, this has been stated rather badly. This road leads to a precipice! But the question is, does the road proposed by E. A. Didorenko lead out of the dead-end or, conversely, does it lead us away into it?

It would be possible to decline a discussion with this article and completely agree with its assessment in PRAVDA VOSTOKA, which demonstrated a clear-cut legal and civil position, if the conversation were a general one and did not touch upon specific public movements and organizations. However, the point of the authorities' indignation is addressed to a quite specific target—the "informal" movements.

The logic is extremely unassuming: "A far-flung shady staff of perestroika opponents is operating in the republic," which, by means of bribery, is recruiting for the achievement of its own black goals the informals, "which are clipping coupons from the highly sensitive ethnic question." At the same time, "each informal group wants to place under its own banners not only the maximum number of sympathizers, but also to add anti-social elements which have already formed their own view of the world and which have widespread connections in society's various strata. Taking such a tie into account... the informals are camouflaged criminals."

Read carefully into this indictment, made without trial or investigation today, when we, each to the extent of his own power and capabilities, are fighting for the conversion of our state into a legal one. What kind of right is there here, when the highest rank of the law-enforcement ministry permits itself to insult publicly the mass public organizations without bothering with evidence. This is quite in the style of the past, when these accusations would have been more than enough to send every informal to a camp. However, it is necessary to remind the general that, in accordance with Article 7 of the Basic Civil Law of the USSR and the union republic, he should answer for the dissemination of information which derogates the dignity of a citizen and an organization, for "such information is derogatory, which belittles the honor and dignity of a citizen or organization in the public opinion of individual citizens from the point of view of observance of the laws, the rule of the socialist community and the principles of communist morality." (IZVESTIYA on 9 March, 1989, "In the USSR Supreme Court").

But the accusations are not a laughing matter: a mercenary tie with the Mafia and anti-social elements, the informals are criminals and the stirring up of ethnic enmity. But this is not enough: "Recently, an anti-social and ideological orientation has been built up by them" (the informals—V. Vasilyev), or more precisely, a struggle against the promotion of the decisions of the 19th Party Conference, the discrediting of the activities of the party organizations on perestroika, the establishment of organizations as alternatives to the party, the discrediting of the law-enforcement agencies, the establishment of contacts with like-minded persons in Moscow and the Baltic republics and other regions of the country, and contact with foreign anti-Soviet centers. Here it takes but a wave of the hand to make contact with foreign intelligence services...

It is understandable that, if the professional Mafia turns out to be weak, then why not demonstrate zeal on the defenseless informals? They can be splashed with mud through the mass media, but it is impossible to enter into a direct and frank public discussion with them! It seems that the bureaucrats from ideology simply have no confidence in their own intellectual level and fear taking a beating in a direct discussion. The devil take it and the discussion, but providing the citizenry with true information is the sacred duty of the press. Alas, nevertheless, the stagnant and Stalinist mud balls are flying...

I am in complete agreement with the opinion of PRAVDA VOSTOKA: "if someone is not in compliance with the criminal code—give the materials to the court," but do not dare to splash anyone, no matter whom, with mud while making use of power and impunity. It is precisely such unlawful bureaucratic activities which are essentially anti-perestroika-minded because they contradict both the spirit and the letter of perestroika and its course toward a legal democratic state.

Incidentally, regarding the "mafioso" Isfandiyar. It seems that he will clear up the relations through the court, but, now, I want to turn attention to the provocative emphasis on his nationalism: he was flogged both for a "strange concordance with a person of European nationality" and "the hatred in him toward internationalism has acquired a pathological nature" and so on. Indeed, such statements count on the negative reaction of readers of precisely a "European nationality." Why was it necessary for E. A. Didorenko to play into the hands of interethnic discord? Indeed, the reader may not even know that Isfandiyar writes books and movie scripts in Russian and, therefore, is personally interested in the equality of languages and in internationalism. Incidentally, regarding the scripts. Immediately behind the article "On the Path into a Dead-End," in that same edition of TASHKENTSKAYA PRAVDA, comes the article "The Big Speeds of a Small Screen," half of which is devoted to the film "A Mockery" by producer Sh. Dzhunaydullayev, taken from a script by Isfandiyar.

Attention is turned to the internationalism of the film and its orientation against violation of the legal norms by the MVD organs. Funny, is it not?

To whom is it advantageous to have the main responsibility for kindling ethnic discord placed on the informals? Is it not the Mafia, from whom part of the attention is now turned, inasmuch as the Mafia is not visible, while the informals are in view? Is it not those workers of the law-enforcement agencies, who are not capable of fighting effectively against the genuine Mafia?

Incidentally, does it not seem to you that, as long as the Mafia still exists, it is you, E. A. Didorenko, who is on the horse as the main fighter against it? And the more terrible it is, the more needed you are. Such is dialectics...

**Tajik Writers Included in Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia**  
*18300560*

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 19 March 1989 carries on page 3 a 350-word report by A. Dyachenko, candidate of philological sciences, entitled "Ukrainian Encyclopedia on Tajik Writers" which says that a new 5-volume Ukrainian Literary Encyclopedia, in the spirit of promoting mutual relations between nationalities in the country, is including entries on literary figures from other regions of the Soviet union. Volume One, A-G, has now been prepared by the Institute of Literature imeni Shevchenko and it includes the following Tajik Soviet writers: Sadreddina Ayni, writer, scholar, and first president of the Tajik Republic Academy of Sciences whose work has been translated into Ukrainian; Gani Abdullo, writer; and Mukhiddin Amin-zade, poet. The latter two have also translated Ukrainian literature and poetry into the Tajik language.

**Tashkent Conference Views Uzbek Social, Economic Structure, Problems**  
*18300499a Tashkent OБSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI V UZBEKISTANE in Russian No 1, Jan 89 pp 50-57*

[Conference report by R.G. Rabich: "A Scientific Conference on the Question 'Problems of Uzbekistan Social Development in the Process of Perestroyka'"]

[Text] On 19 October 1988, at the History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, a scientific conference was held on the subject "Problems of Uzbekistan Social Development in the Process of Perestroyka" with the participation of social scientists from Uzbekistan, other Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan.

In his introductory speech, Academician of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences A.A. Askarov emphasized the urgency of elaborating the questions of social development in the USSR in light of the new demands made by perestroyka.

Corresponding Member of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences R.Kh. Aminova (History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) gave a report on the main aspects of social development in the republic during the years of perestroyka. She pointed out that party social policy includes a broad spectrum of problems and is organically tied to the economy, politics, culture and ideology. One of the most important component parts of the social sphere is the socioclass structure. In the stage of perestroyka, the working class retains its leading social role. In Uzbekistan this has a number of particular features. In representing a majority of the republic workers, the working class in its proportional amount among the population employed in the Uzbek economy is still behind the other republic detachments of the USSR working class.

A characteristic trait of the working class is its multinationality. But in the republic the share of the indigenous nationality is not sufficient in its ranks: according to the recent published data (1983), it does not exceed 45.7 percent, although the number of Uzbeks in the Uzbek population is over 70 percent. In the leading branches of heavy industry, the share of Uzbeks is 20-25 percent. As can be seen, the republic's labor resources are still very little used in the industrial branches.

The republic peasantry also has a number of particular features. Its proportional amount in the able-bodied Uzbek population is higher than in a majority of the other Union republics, due primarily to the attachment of the Uzbeks to the land, the rich experience in farming, the high labor intensiveness of cotton growing and so forth.

Positive changes are occurring in the composition of the Uzbekistan peasantry: the share of equipment operators and specialists is rising, the educational and vocational-technical level is growing. However, serious difficulties and mistakes are also felt and which built up over the years of stagnation: an underestimation of agricultural equipment and the prevalence of manual labor. The educational level of the peasantry is still insufficient and this is largely determined by the annual involvement of school children in farm work.

The social role of the republic intelligentsia is growing. Its numbers are increasing, important shifts are occurring in its structure, and the detachments of engineers, agronomists, teachers, physicians and scientific workers are increasing with a simultaneous decline in the share of specialists in the managerial apparatus.

The increased role of the labor collectives is an important aspect in social policy.

In Uzbekistan, where the representatives of over 100 nationalities live, the question of interethnic relations is of particular urgency. During the years of Stalin's cult of personality and in the period of stagnation, it was asserted that complete harmony has been achieved in

this sphere. In actuality, various clashes arose out of the serious deviations from Lenin's nationality policy. The maintaining of the patriarchal vestiges in the way of life, the influence of Islam and other religions and so forth also tell on the interethnic relations in Uzbekistan.

The social sphere is closely linked to the economy. In Uzbekistan, the basis of the economy is comprised primarily of the cotton sectors as well as the light and food industries and other branches of industry producing consumer goods. Regardless of the increased production of cotton and other agricultural raw materials, the republic does not receive their actual value, as the turnover tax is collected at the point of their sales, that is, in the other Union republics. Some 93 percent of the cotton fiber produced in Uzbekistan is processed outside of the republic. It is essential to increase its processing in the republic to at least 40-50 percent. The cost of cotton does not completely include expenditures on its production, and costs likewise virtually do not consider the waste products (oil seed cake, husks and so forth) which are a valuable raw material.

The social development of Uzbekistan is also influenced by other negative trends which have been established in the economy. There is serious concern over the low level of republic national income. Over 1986 and 1987, this increased by just 1.4 percent against 10.7 percent according to the plan, while the Uzbek population grew over this time by almost 6 percent. Labor productivity in republic industry and agriculture is 1.5-2-fold lower than the general Union one. As a result, the per capita income has declined significantly and this has influenced the amount of earnings for the workers and employees and the income of the kolkhoz members.

The standard of living of the workers is also seriously influenced by major shortcomings in the organizing of public education. These have led to a decline in the professional level of the national economic workers and, consequently, to their lower wages.

One of the particular features in the social development of Uzbekistan is that this has occurred under the conditions of a difficult demographic situation. The birthrate in the republic surpasses the Union indicator by more than 3-fold. Correspondingly high are the demand for children's preschool and medical institutions, public dining enterprises, consumer services and so forth.

The resources of the able-bodied population are significant. Over 1 million persons are not employed in social production. The 12th Five-Year Plan plans to draw 1,147,000 persons into social production, and with the current rate this would require at least 10 years.

A most important prerequisite for improving the prosperity of the population is to resolve the food problem. Over the last 2 years, meat and milk production in Uzbekistan rose by just 3.5 percent, while the republic population increased by almost 6 percent. The supply of

the public with fruits, vegetables and melon crops has been declining. The prices for them are rising although their quality is dropping. Serious adjustments must be made in price formation policy and the plantings of food crops broadened.

The republic population is experiencing an acute shortage of many industrial consumer goods, although in recent years definite advances have been made in broadening their production and updating the assortment. In 1986-1987 alone, retail trade failed to receive almost 400 million rubles of goods. The republic holds one of the last places in the Union in terms of the output of cultural, service and household goods. The cooperatives and IDT [independent labor contract] could play a major role in changing the situation here.

An alarming situation has developed on the market where the population purchases a significant portion of its food. Commodity turnover is declining while the market prices are rising. Cooperative trade must be developed in every possible way. We must intensify the involvement of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in market trade and at the same time encourage food production on the individual farms and develop the subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises. For reducing retail prices, measures must be taken to reduce expenditures on the production of agricultural products.

Recently measures have been taken to improve the material situation of the war and labor veterans. Additional benefits have been established for the internationalist soldiers who fought in Afghanistan. There are plans to increase the minimum pension.

Broadening the volume of housing construction is among the most important areas of party social policy. At present, per inhabitant of Uzbekistan there are just 7.8 m<sup>2</sup> of housing. Many houses and apartments are devoid of elementary conveniences. Although in comparison with the 11th Five-Year Plan, the annual completion of housing has risen by 15 million m<sup>2</sup>, the housing construction rate is still insufficient. There are major shortcomings in the municipal economy, particularly in the countryside.

The public health problem remains acute. Mortality is high, particularly infant. Although large amounts of money are being channeled into the development of public health, the funds are spent inefficiently. There is a shortage of medical workers, particularly in the countryside. There must be a greater struggle against drunkenness, alcoholism and drug abuse.

The state of public health is largely linked to ecological problems. There must be a decisive struggle against the chemical pollution of the soil, water and air. The problem of the Aral Sea has gained particular urgency.

This entire complex range of social problems cannot be solved merely by administrative methods. We must have a scientifically sound and integrated program reinforced by the allocating of the corresponding resources. The social scientists of Uzbekistan must make an active contribution to working out and implementing this program.

The speaker was asked a number of questions. Some of them concerned the history and present state of the cooperative movement. In describing it, R.Kh. Aminova pointed out that up to the end of the 1920s, cooperatives in Uzbekistan had developed as a whole successfully and had made a major contribution to the restoration and development of the economy, particularly the rural one. However, in following years the movement was overthrown and its possibilities remained unrealized. Presently the nation is restoring the cooperative movement in accord with Leninist principles. There are already over 1,200 cooperatives with 19,000 members in Uzbekistan. Their role is growing in the production of consumer goods, in the service sphere, public dining and so forth.

The speech by the Deputy Director of the Economics Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economic Sciences R.A. Ubaydullayeva, was devoted to the questions of sociodemographic policy. During the years of stagnation, she said, the serious shortcomings and mistakes in the development of the social sphere reflected badly on the demographic situation in Uzbekistan. Disproportions arose in the relationship of the sociodemographic groups including youth, women and so forth. Proper attention was not paid to the interests of each of them. The very fact of the existence of complex sociodemographic problems in the republic was concealed or not sufficiently considered and this created an atmosphere of indifference and complacency. Along with the rapid growth of the population there was a rising mortality rate, particularly youth. Average life expectancy in the republic, in comparison with the beginning of the 1970s, dropped by 2.5 years. The overall standard of living of the population declined, including diet, availability of housing and so forth.

One of the most important sociodemographic problems is the low employment rate of the population. Presently in the republic there are approximately 1.68 million persons not employed in the economy. The real labor reserve exceeds 780,000 men. For solving the problem it is essential first of all to have a radical improvement in the social status of women.

The employment problem requires a strict scientific approach. It is essential to work out clear, differentiated criteria. It is essential to work out a comprehensive demographic program and consider it in the scientific research in the various areas of social science.

The speaker noted the relativity of the concept of a "labor-surplus population." In her opinion, this reflects the imperfection of planning the utilization of labor resources. Regions with surplus manpower are experiencing a shortage of skilled workers. For each overpopulated oblast in the republic, a program has now been worked out for involving the surplus labor resources primarily in industry and the nonproductive spheres. Particular attention is being given to the use of female labor, to raising the shift factor and establishing cooperatives. In resettlement it is essential to exclude any violations of the principle of voluntariness. Territorial redistribution (resettlement) and pendulum migration are among the tested forms of using the surplus manpower. But for this there must be the corresponding social conditions, including the construction of housing and service facilities, the organizing of transport operation and so forth.

The imbalance between supply and demand for jobs is at present rather serious. For eliminating this, radical measures are essential including a change in the economic structure, investment policy and so forth. Since the beginning of the 1970s, the Uzbek Gosplan has sent out 200 report notes containing various recommendations on the employment problems. But they were all put "under glass." The situation began to change only recently but things are held up due to a lack of capital investments.

Doctor of Historical Sciences L.U. Yusupov (Moscow) reviewed certain questions of the relationship between social development and nationality relations. Up to now this relationship has often been ignored and in practice this has led to the strengthening of nationalistic feelings, the extreme manifestation of which was the actions in Alma-Ata, Nagornyy Karabakh and certain other places. In the ideological and political spheres the main factor influencing the development of relations between the representatives of different nationalities is the preserving and development of national self-awareness and in the economic sphere, the overcoming of differences in the development level of the Union republics and an improved interrepublic organization of labor.

There is the opinion that nationalistic attitudes are manifested in those regions which have switched to socialism in bypassing capitalism. This is supposedly explained by the fact that the level of self-awareness in the indigenous population of these regions has not risen to the socialist level. In actuality it is a question that in the designated regions many questions of social development have not been resolved. This causes dissatisfaction among the population and which is channeled by irresponsible elements into nationalism.

Here we need primarily not indoctrinal but rather real economic measures. Such incentives as competition between the republics have been ineffective.

For the development of interethnic relations it is very important to organize the teaching of languages and humanities disciplines in the schools. The question of languages of instruction is rather confused. There must be a major revision in the teaching of USSR history. Here virtually no attention is given to the Union republics. Our social scientists are working out the questions of nationality relations chiefly on the interrepublic level. Not enough consideration is given to the religious (under Central Asian conditions, the Islamic) factor. Until recently, it was asserted that religion in our nation exists solely as a vestige. In actuality, it has influence among a significant portion of the population. And this also must be considered.

The report of Candidate of Economic Sciences D.R. Charyyeva (Ashkhabad) examined certain aspects of social development in Turkmenia in the course of perestroika. She took up the distinguishing and similar features of Uzbekistan and Turkmenia influencing the social sphere. Thus, Turkmenia is greatly behind Uzbekistan in terms of the number of population; the territory of Turkmenia is only 10 percent populated. Among the similar problems is the cotton monocropping. There are also similar ecological situations: for example, the problem of the Aral Sea and the Kara-Bogaz-Gol. The polluting of the Caspian has led to serious complications and because of this there has been a significant decline in the fish stocks. As in Uzbekistan, in Turkmenia little use is made of certain promising recreational zones. A number of problems is linked to the operation of the Karakum Canal. Up to now, little use has been made of the lands of certain oases, for example, the Tedzen.

In Turkmenia there are also other complex problems similar to the Uzbekistan ones. Thus, in Turkmenia mortality is still high, particularly infant. The spread of drugs is reflected in the health of not only the adult population but also their offspring. There are problems related to involving the population, including students, in farm work. Specific problems also exist in carrying out political indoctrination and propaganda work. Radio and TV broadcasts come in from neighboring Iran and these are permeated with a spirit of Islamic fundamentalism. The language problem is acute and so forth. All these problems require scientifically based solutions.

Doctor of Historical Sciences G.A. Shister (IPK [Advanced Training Institute] under the Tashkent State University imeni V.I. Lenin) took up the urgent problems of socioclass development. He pointed out that the time has come to somewhat shift accents in investigating them. Previously the emphasis was put on intensifying the integration among classes. However, it is still premature to speak about the merging of classes. It is essential to establish conditions for the development of each class and for maximum utilization of its opportunities. In this regard, it is essential to assist in differentiating the forms of socialist property.

There is a series of complex problems in defining the content and limits of the social structure in Soviet society. The three-term formula: working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia—has been the dominant one for many years, it does not bring out the entire complexity of social relations and does not consider, for instance, the development of the cooperative and individual labor sector; the category of the white-collar personnel is not identical with the intelligentsia. All of this requires a more profound study of the question of the social structure in Soviet society considering the changes which have occurred during the years of perestroika as well as new theoretical and methodological approaches.

Then the speaker took up individual aspects of social development in Uzbekistan. He pointed out that, although the proportional amount of the working class is growing, serious problems still remain in the growth of its sectorial and territorial detachments. The workers of indigenous nationalities as before are concentrated in the traditional branches. The significant resources of manpower existing in rural localities are not sufficiently utilized. The forms being employed for involving them in industrial production (affiliates and pendulum migration) are extensive ones. It is essential to seek out effective, intensive forms. This problem cannot be solved by simple movements of manpower. The labor-deficit areas both in the republic and outside it need primarily skilled workers. Hence the question is not one of the poor mobility of the population rather we must strengthen first of all the professional training of industrial personnel.

In taking up the demographic factors of employing the labor resources, G.A. Shister pointed out that the increased population in Uzbekistan is not being provided with the corresponding social conditions. According to estimates by economists, for maintaining stable development national income must increase by 4 percent for each percentage of increase in the population. For now this indicator is not realistic for Uzbekistan and as a result one must actually plan for a lag in the social sphere. The solution, in the speaker's opinion, is one of rational planning for the growth of the population, but this should be conscious and voluntary, without pressure from the state.

The report of Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu.I. Romanov (History Institute of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences) took up certain questions in the social development of Kazakhstan during the years of perestroika. The speaker pointed out that in the republic there are many social problems analogous to those found in Uzbekistan. But the important thing is not to record shortcomings but rather seek out the ways for overcoming them. In this regard, Kazakhstan has acquired valuable experience.

For a long time, the housing problem has been acute in the republic and this has been complicated by all sorts of abuses. The approach to this problem was changed in

1984. In the republic they decided not to have to wait to the year 2000 for providing each family with its own modern apartment. Recently, around 20 percent of those on the waiting list has received apartments. The housing problem is being settled faster in the rural localities than in the city. Thus, each year 20-30 apartments are being built on every sovkhoz.

The speaker went on to take up the questions of interethnic relations. During the years of stagnation, serious deformations were permitted in this sphere in the republic. Now measures are being taken to radically improve the situation, primarily for meeting the cultural requirements of the population. The publishing of literature is being broadened and school instruction is being developed in the languages of a number of nationalities and so forth.

Important successes have also been achieved in solving the food problem.

In the opinion of the speaker, a most important task for the social scientists is to work out a concept of social development. At present, there are only individual programs such as the food, medical, service sphere and so forth. We must also have integrated step-by-step solutions to regional social problems. Coordinated efforts by the social scientists of our republics are essential for investigating the social development of the Central Asian-Kazakhstan area. It is essential to work out clearer criteria for the needs of each republic for housing, food and so forth. It would be desirable to create a collective work on the state of nationality relations in the region.

Doctor of Historical Sciences Sh.Z. Ziyamov (Tashkent) took up the questions of personnel policy during the years of perestroika as one of the prerequisites for successfully carrying out the party's social program. Presently, among the specialists and leaders of all levels, there is a very high proportional amount of older persons. Basically they acquired their education and practical skills in the 1950s-1970s. This also applies to the party cadres. It is not easy for the persons of the designated age categories to shift from command-administrative methods to a democratic management system. The question arises: how fit are they for perestroika, including the carrying out of social measures. In the party, soviet and economic apparatus there is the danger that the old can suppress the shoots of the new. There must be an influx of new, fresh forces into the responsible, leading work. Increased demands must be placed on the new personnel and concrete standards and criteria elaborated for the conformity of the leading specialists and leaders to the positions held. There must be a qualitative improvement also in admission to the party, in decisively eliminating the old approaches to this important matter.

The speaker went on to take up certain questions of ideological indoctrination which is also closely linked to the social sphere. The serious shortcomings which exist in this work (formalism, a gap between theoretical studies and practice and so forth) are being overcome very slowly, while a decisive perestroika is essential here.

Candidate of Historical Sciences T. Tashbayeva (History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) in her report examined materials from a survey on the status of women in Kashka-Darya Oblast. This is one of the worst oblasts in the republic in socioeconomic terms. It is no accident that in recent years the instances of the self-immolation of women has become more frequent there. Major mistakes have been made in all aspects of carrying out social policy, cultural-educational and ideological indoctrinational work, life is primitive and so forth. Many legal standards regulating the status of women are violated. Thus, a majority of women does not realize their right to rest, they have virtually no free time, although 72 percent of those questioned is not employed in the national economy due to large families and the heavy burden of household affairs. This is one of the main reasons for the low prosperity of a significant portion of the population. The local party and soviet bodies and the social organizations have not given proper attention to the status of women or to raising their social activeness.

An analysis of the specific sociological data concerning the status of women in Kashka-Darya and other oblasts of the republic leads one to the notion that the achievements in solving the women's question in Uzbekistan require a sober assessment.

In order to fundamentally alter the existing situation, it is essential to work out and implement an extensive range of measures to restructure [perestroika] family-domestic relations, to develop the spiritual needs of women, to carry out a program of socioeconomic development and raise the material prosperity of the population, particularly in the countryside. It is important to achieve the following: alter the moral and psychological climate; radically improve the organization of indoctrination in the schools; consistently introduce the principles of glasnost and democratization into daily life; improve legal propaganda and involve the mass information media in this matter; establish conditions for the wider involvement of women in socially useful labor and so forth. And it is very important that the leadership over this entire complex and diverse work be in the hands of energetic, enterprising and committed personnel.

Candidate of Economic Sciences A.S. Chamkin (Tashkent) in his report touched on the questions of the human personality and its psychology. Perestroika in the social sphere has collided with a number of difficulties of a psychological nature. According to the data of questionnaires, 95 percent of the population is satisfied with everything although the numerous difficulties in

satisfying the most important requirements of the population are generally known. Such a position reflects a psychology of stagnation and also shows the underdevelopment of demands. As yet, there is no sufficient indication of substantial changes in psychology or a change in guidelines. In order to bring about the required shift, it is essential to raise the spiritual level of society and the social activeness of the masses. The speaker supported the opinion of Yu.I. Romanov on the need to establish an integrated scientific concept of social development. But it is equally important to work out just as integrated a concept of the personality. In each region, in the words of the speaker, a definite model of a man has arisen, but we still do not have a sufficient understanding of just what this is, for instance, in Central Asia. Until this gap is filled in, the social problems cannot be resolved. It would be advisable to set up a regional scientific research institute "Man in the East."

Regardless of the urgency of human problems, there is virtually no study of them in the republic. With 19 million inhabitants in Uzbekistan, there is just one group of sociologists with 10 persons and a majority of them does not have a special education. Finally, it is time to turn to sociology. It would be advisable to use the experience gained in this area, for example, in Hungary, the GDR and Bulgaria.

A number of questions concerning social psychology was touched upon in the speech of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Kh.P. Pusatov (Philosophy Chair of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences). He pointed out that in examining social problems the principles of glasnost and pluralism have not yet been realized and the level of discussion is low. We, the speaker said, do not know the reasons for the exacerbation of nationality problems. It is asserted that contradictions are absent in nationality relations although reality shows the reverse. On the other hand, an unhealthy ruckus has been raised concerning the situation in Uzbekistan, although interethnic relations are developing on a healthier basis in Uzbekistan than in many other Union republics.

In the speaker's opinion, the literature has underestimated the degree of religiousness of the Uzbeks and incorrect views are maintained on the development of crime in the republic. The social scientists of Uzbekistan have shown passivity and have not dealt a proper rebuff to those who confuse things when it is a question of Uzbekistan. The attempts to place responsibility for any negative phenomenon on a certain people are invalid and in essence do not conform to the interests of international collaboration. The rebirth of the Black Hundred in the form of the notorious Pamyat [Memory] shows to what these can lead.

The status of women was touched upon in the report by Candidate of Historical Sciences D. Alimova (History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences). Until recently it was asserted, she said, that the women's question had been completely settled in our nation,

including in Uzbekistan. The disregarding of existing problems led to a situation where attention ceased to be paid to them and as a result the work in improving the social and domestic status of women was neglected. Their domestic labor was extremely heavy and unproductive. And the benefits provided to women will not produce the necessary result until their main concern for the family is substantially eased. From this derives the low social activeness of a significant portion of the women. In particular, there are still few women among scientific workers, particularly of higher skills. A radical improvement in the status of women will be achieved only under the condition of unleashing local initiative. Often things get no farther than general conversations. Thus, they discuss the question of whether the birthrate in Uzbekistan greatly exceeding the national level is good or bad. At the same time, the heart of the matter is to actually ease the position of mothers, particularly those with large families.

Doctor of Historical Sciences K.A. Akilov (History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) voiced a number of considerations on the report of R.Kh. Aminova, having pointed out that individual ideas in it could be developed. Thus, in taking up the leading role of the working class, it is essential to point out that the wage level of the workers remains insufficient. The question of social justice as a fundamental principle in party social policy during the stage of perestroika cannot be viewed solely from the standpoint of distributing goods between individual citizens. The principle of social justice also extends into interrepublic relations. The violations which have occurred in this area have been expressed in the lagging of Uzbekistan behind the other Union republics in terms of the amount of per capita national income, for many indicators in the development of material prosperity, domestic services, culture and so forth.

The literature often asserts that one of the reasons for the lag of Uzbekistan is the fact that the republic came to socialism in bypassing capitalism. But this stage has long since passed. Socialist construction in Uzbekistan has gone on for over 70 years. During this time, it would have been possible to achieve a complete actual equality in the level of the republic's socioeconomic development in comparison with the Union one. We feel that the reasons for the lag lie elsewhere—in the failed methods of managing the Uzbekistan economy and in arbitrary decisions.

The report correctly pointed to the link of nationality relations with the economic factor. And in actuality the fact that 93 percent of the raw cotton is processed outside the republic is in fact a major deviation not only from the principles of the interrepublic division of labor but also from the Leninist course of nationality policy. The republic could have dispensed with the Union subsidies if the errors in its economic development had been promptly avoided.

A number of reports prepared by the conference participants was not read due to the lack of time.

One of these speakers, N.F. Bugay (Moscow), examined the role of the soviets in improving nationality relations in the stage of perestroyka. This function of the soviet bodies can be successfully carried out only in the instance that the soviets are granted real power, including in national economic management and in solving the entire range of social problems. The experience of the soviets in the time of Lenin is of particular interest for the development of interethnic relations.

New opportunities for strengthening interethnic collaboration between the peoples of the USSR have opened up for the soviets in line with the recently adopted amendments of the USSR Constitution and the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. For ensuring the active involvement of the soviets in strengthening the collaboration of the fraternal peoples, it is essential to have just representation of all the nationalities of the country, all the social strata and groups (women, youth, nonparty persons and so forth). The soviets should show sensitivity and concern for the representatives of the various nationality groups and prevent the possibility of nationality conflicts. It is also essential to improve the criminological situation. As events in Nagornyy Karabakh and Sumgait have shown, conflict situations on a nationality basis are often created by criminal elements.

The reports of Candidates of Historical Sciences A.Sh. Mavlyanov and M. Kadyrov (both from the Karshi GPI [State Pedagogical Institute]) reviewed the questions of social development in the Uzbek countryside. M. Kadyrov generally sketched in the changes in the social structure of the republic peasantry and described the supply of the kolkhozes with food, the development of the service sphere and cultural-educational work. The speaker pointed out that for raising the prosperity of the rural workers, it is important to have progressive forms of organizing labor such as the cost accounting brigade, the brigade, collective and family contracts.

A.Sh. Mavlyanov raised the problem of the material prosperity of the rural population in Uzbekistan. He particularly pointed to the following areas of party social policy in the countryside: raising wages; broadening the amount of housing construction, sociocultural projects and so forth; developing the private subsidiary farms as an additional source of agricultural product and monetary income.

The reports by Candidates of Historical Sciences I.M. Saidov (Samarkand State University imeni A. Navoi) and N.K. Uldzhabayeva (Karshi GPI) were devoted to the development of public health in Uzbekistan in the stage of perestroyka. I.M. Saidov pointed out that the main republic public health problems consist in the following: 1) the poor organization of diagnostics and laboratory analysis which, in turn, is explained by the insufficient supply of the medical facilities with new and

modern equipment and the shortage of specialists able to operate it, particularly in the countryside; 2) the shortage of hospital beds in the in-patient facilities of various specialties; 3) the shortage of medical personnel and the poor skills of many of them; 4) the low level of preventive work.

A radical improvement in the situation requires: better quality training of physicians; better supply of medicines for the public; increased delivery of medical, including imported, equipment; greater responsibility on the part of the leaders of the public health bodies; a radical improvement in preventive work; the overcoming of formalism, bureaucracy and abuse in the work of the medical facilities. All of this presupposes coordinated efforts by the republic ministry of public health, the party, soviet and trade union bodies as well as the broad public.

N.K. Uldzhabayeva took up the questions of medical services in the areas of newly developed lands. Among the reasons for the lag of public health in the designated areas the speaker particularly pointed to the poor physical plant of the medical facilities. Only 20 percent of them is located in standard buildings, over two-thirds of them do not have hot water supply and some are even without cold water.

The report by Candidate of Historical Sciences R.G. Rabich (History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) raised certain concerns about the social role of the working class in the process of perestroyka. In the available publications workers are assigned a leading role not only in those sectors where they are employed but also in culture and agriculture. This plays down the role of the intelligentsia and the peasantry who directly produce the spiritual and material values in their spheres. The idea of the leading role of the working class in all spheres of life of Soviet society during the years of the cult of personality and stagnation did not correspond to reality. It distracted us from the real state of affairs. The standard of living of the Soviet worker has lagged behind the analogous indicators in many foreign countries. Unique percentage standards were in effect and these regulated the involvement of the representatives of the various social strata and groups in sociopolitical life. This created the illusion of the leading role of the workers in all spheres of sociopolitical life, although the mass of them was removed from this. The time has come, finally, to work out a more objective and balanced assessment of the actual social role of the classes and strata in Soviet society and a truly scientific treatment of the leading role of the working class.

The results of the conference were summed up in the concluding speech given by the Director of the History Institute of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences R.Ya. Radzhabova. She pointed out that the speeches, particularly the paper of R.Kh. Amanova contained a number of interesting ideas, conclusions and recommendations, and she brought out the

three main areas of the conference: 1) the speeches focused on the touchy points of party social policy; 2) the speakers formulated a number of positive proposals, for example, on the need for an overall concept of social development in a region, the comprehensive elaboration of the model of man in terms of the specific conditions of Uzbekistan; on the ways of developing the republic economy (increasing the share of raw cotton processing, raising purchasing prices for cotton, increasing the plantings of food crops, improving the use of local labor resources and so forth); on the role of cooperatives in

satisfying the demand of the population for food and mass consumer goods; on the ways for developing public health; on improving the status of women; 3) the conference touched upon, albeit partially, the bases for the methodology of social research.

The holding of this conference will undoubtedly contribute to a further scientific elaboration of the urgent problems of social development in Uzbekistan.

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